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The political history of Northern India
before and during
the reign of Harṣa (Cir. A.D. 550-650)

by

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ABSTRACT

We commence our work with an appreciation of the important indigenous and foreign sources on our subject - the works of Bāṇa and Hsuan-tsang. Chapter two deals with the rise and growth of some important kingdoms of the period, those of the Later Guptas, the Maukharis, the Maitrakas and Śaśāṅka, with whom the Vardhanas came into conflict to gain the supremacy of northern India. Chapter three traces the early history of the Kings of Sthānviśvara, giving an account of Prabhākaravardhana's campaigns, the short career of Rājyavardhana, and Harṣa's succession to the throne of his paternal kingdom. The next chapter discusses Harṣa's achievements and set-backs in the military sphere, indicating the varying degrees of control he exercised over the different parts of his extensive empire. Chapter five, on Harṣa's administration, first briefly traces the development of some important political concepts which gave to medieval Indian institutions their distinctive character. It then attempts to fill in some details in the structure, built with the help of contemporary sources, of the administrative machine, as it may have been at work in Harṣa's reign.

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The last chapter, material for which has been obtained almost entirely from the Chinese original sources, gives an account of the diplomatic exchanges between Harṣa and the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung, as well as a glimpse of the disorderly conditions that developed soon after Harṣa's death, in a part of the country which was once under his supremacy.

Questions relating to the Harṣa era and Harṣa's coins are examined in two appendices, while a third gives the text and translation of Harṣa's Madhuban copperplate.

A map is appended showing India in the age of Harṣa.

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Abstract	- - -
Preface	i - vi
Abbreviations	vii - xii
Chapter I - Introduction and Sources	1 - 23
Chapter II - Kingdoms of northern India in the latter half of the sixth century A.D.	24 - 105
Chapter III- The house of the Vardhanas	106 - 161
Chapter IV - The extent of Harṣa's empire	162 - 225
Chapter V - Harṣa's administration	226 - 334
Chapter VI - Sino-Indian relations and the death of Harṣa	335 - 361
Appendix I - The Harṣa era	362 - 368
Appendix II- Harṣa's coins	369 - 381
Appendix III- The Madhuban copper-plate of Harṣa	382 - 388
Genealogical Tables	389 - 394
Bibliography [General]	395 - 405
» to Chapter VI	406 - 411
Map	412 - -

P R E F A C E

The reign of Harṣa is one of those few periods of ancient Indian history for which material is available in a comparatively abundant degree; therefore it has already been the subject of study, either exclusively or as a part of a broader theme. A French scholar, M. L. Ettinghausen, produced the first monograph on Harṣa, entitled "Harṣa Vardhana - Empereur et Poète", in 1906. Sixteen years later appeared K. M. Panikkar's brief study, "Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj". In 1926 R. K. Mookerji published his work on Harṣa, while R. S. Tripathi devoted to the reign of Harṣa about 125 pages of his 400 page "History of Kanauj", which appeared in 1937. All these works have dealt with the political as well as the social, economic, religious and other aspects of Harṣa's reign. In addition to these monographs, several articles on this topic have appeared in various journals. The general histories, such as Smith's "Early History of India" and "The History and Culture of the Indian People", have also devoted considerable space to an account of Harṣa's reign. The dynasties dealt with in our second chapter, which crowded the Indian stage just before the advent of Harṣa, have also formed the subject of study of certain scholars. Yet, I have ventured to

present a study solely devoted to the political history of these kingdoms of the latter half of the sixth century and of the reign of Harṣa. The material for the second chapter, originally intended merely for setting the stage, aroused so many new questions to which answers had to be found that I felt the need for giving a detailed connected account of the dynasties concerned, highlighting the aspects which had hitherto been neglected.

I hope and trust that my dissertation vindicates my belief that the political history of Harṣa's reign needs to be rewritten and reinterpreted. The Indian and the Chinese sources on my period are indeed mines of information, especially when studied against their respective backgrounds, and I feel that my work represents only a small fragment of the knowledge that can be derived from them.

A historian is inspired with the desire, not just to know the facts, but also to divine their meaning⁽¹⁾. The student of ancient Indian history has yet to work stoically for a long time to accomplish even the first part of his desire. He rushes to interpret the meaning of the few

(1) Toynbee A. The Study of History Vol.X p.42

facts at his disposal in full awareness of the cruel possibility of having to demolish his theories if a lost source suddenly comes to light, or if an obscure word in the existing sources becomes explicable with the help of some fresh data quite insignificant in itself. It is indeed extremely important for the ancient historian to have his dynastic facts accurate, for not unoften do they provide the key to the other problems of history. The justification of revised studies and re-interpretations of this aspect of our history lies in the fact that they take us nearer to our ideal of accuracy. That is what I have tried to do in my chapters two and three, and partly in chapter four. But, having discovered the facts, we cannot resist the urge "to divine their meaning". Glimpses of this desire are to be found in the fourth chapter of this work, while in the following chapter I have frequently paused in an attempt to investigate the relationships of the various facts at my disposal. In the last chapter we have to begin the process all over again, for only the vaguest knowledge of the India after Harṣa was available to us from the Indian sources. Facts had first to be amassed with the help of the Chinese sources, they then had to be examined and sifted, and finally interpreted, to give a coherent story of events.

I would here comment briefly on one of my important sources, a fuller discussion of which has been incorporated in the text. "Feelings about History, as well as thoughts about it, have inspired historical works, and similar feelings, evoked by similar facts, have also been expressed in imaginative works in the divers genres of literature. There is, for example, a lyrical genre, an epic genre, a narrative genre, and a dramatic genre; and the feelings for the poetry in the facts of History has availed itself of all of these".⁽¹⁾ Harṣa's patronage, I believe, was the external cause of the composition of the Harṣacarita, but not the inspiration which moved the pen of Bāṇa. Time and again we find that Bāṇa loses sight of the external cause and writes with "the feeling for the poetry in the facts of history". A little familiarity with the conventional references and descriptions in such works easily tells us when Bāṇa is being faithful to historical truth and when he is succumbing to the lure of displaying his poetic skill.

I give fresh translations (with the help of Mr. D. C. Lau) of almost all the passages taken from Hsüan-t'sang's 'Hsi Yü Chi' and Hui Li's 'Life', but the references in the footnotes are given mostly to the English translations, as

(1) Toynbee, A. The Study of History Vol.X. p.113.

that would be helpful in tracing the passage in any edition of the above cited works. (1) As far as possible, Beal's references have been given because a verbatim translation has been attempted in this work. Watterls' work is more in the nature of a commentary on the more important passages, but, his translations being better, his work has been quoted when the original agrees mostly or completely with his version.

As my period has been the subject of study of several scholars, I have tried to reduce quotations of the views of individual writers, mentioning only the more important ones or those who best represent the views of a certain school. I have considerably curtailed the Sanskrit quotations, because of typing difficulties. The problem of the identification of the Śīlāditya coins has been discussed for the first time in any detail since Sir Richard Burn published his paper on the new find at Biṭaura in 1906.

While preparing this work I have most keenly felt my lack of knowledge of the Chinese language. However, I have been fortunate enough to have had the co-operation of those who knew the language. I would express my sincere gratitude to Mr. D. C. Lau of the School of Oriental and African Studies for his most ungrudging and unselfish help by translating the Chinese texts for me. My work would

(1) We have used the Peking, 1955 edition of the ^{7a Tang} Hsi Yu Chi and Takakusu's Vol. 50 for Hui Li's account of the "Life" of Hsuan-tsang.

have been much the poorer without it. However, as fresh readings were imparted to me verbally, mistakes may have crept in while I wrote them down. It may be mentioned here that in the translations it has been my main concern to preserve the literal meaning rather than to produce literary effect, for it is the former which is more likely to yield an accurate interpretation.

I am deeply indebted to Professor C. H. Philips for the help I have received from him in various ways. I also thank Mr. O. van der Sprenkel, Dr. D. C. Twitchett and Mr. C. A. Rylands on whose knowledge and readiness to help I have drawn upon profusely.

I cannot adequately express in words my deep sense of gratitude and respect to Dr. A. L. Basham, whose instructive guidance and unfailing encouragement made this work possible. Indeed, I could not have been more fortunate in getting a teacher at once so kind, painstaking and learned, who fostered the spirit of initiative and guided it in the right channels with his profound scholarship and sound judgment.

ABBREVIATIONS ---

A.

A.B.	=	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
A.B.O.R.I.	=	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Achārya	=	The Historical Inscriptions from Gujjarat
A.G.I. or C.A.G.I.	=	Ancient Geography of India by Cunningham
Amara.	=	Amarakośa.
Ap. Pr.	=	Aparājita Pricchā
Artha. or Kauṭ.	=	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya
A.S.I.	=	Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.I.A.R.	=	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
A.V. or Atharva.	=	Atharva Veda
Aravamuthan	=	The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age.

B.

Bar. Sutra	=	Bārhaspatya Sūtra
Beal	=	Buddhist Records of the Western World /Hsi Yü Chi/ tr. by Beal
Bodhi	=	Śāntideva's Bodhicaryavataṛapanjika ed. by Poussin
Bom. Gaz.	=	Bombay Gazetteer.
Br.	=	Brhaspati Dharmaśāstra.

- Br. Up. = Brhadānanyaka Upaniṣada
 B.S.O.A.S. = Bulletin of the School of Oriental
 and African Studies

C.

- C.A.G.I. or A.G.I. = Ancient Geography of India by
 Cunningham
 C.A.I. = Coins of Ancient India (Cunningham)
 C.A.S.R. = Archaeological Survey Reports (Cunningham)
 Catuḥ = Catuḥśatika of Āryadeva
 C.C.G.D.B.M. = Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta
 Dynasties [British Museum Collection],
 Allan.
 C.I.I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
 C.M.I. = Coins of Medieval India, Cunningham.

D.

- D.H.N.I. = Dynastic History of Northern India
 by H.C.Ray.
 Dynasties = Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis
 Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes
 (Histoire du Monde Tome VI^e by Poussin)

E.

- E.H.I. = Early History of India (Smith)
 E.I. or Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica

G.

- G.D.A.M.I. = Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and
 Medieval India.

- H.B.R. = History of Bengal by R.C.Majumdar
- H. C. Text = Harṣacarita (Text with Śankara's commentary, published by the Nirṇayasagara Press, Bombay, 1925)
- H. C. Trans. = Harṣacarita translated by Cowell and Thomas
- H. C. I. P. = History and Culture of the Indian People. Ed. Majumdar & Pusalkar.
- Hyd. Arch. Ser. = Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
- Hist. of Dhś = History of Dharmasāstrā

I.

- I. A. or Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary
- I. H. I. = Imperial History of India (The Ārya Manju Śrī Mūlakalpa edited by Jayaswal).
- I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
- Imp. Gaz. = Imperial Gazetteer
- Ind. Cul. = Indian Culture

J.

- J.A.H.R.S. = Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
- J.A.R.S. = Journal of the Assam Research Society
- J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J.A.S.B.R. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal 3rd Series.
- J.B.B.R.A.S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J.B.H.S. = Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

J.B.O.R.S.	= Journal of the Bengal and Orissa Research Society.
J.B.R.S.	= Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
J.I.H.	= Journal of Indian History
J.M.U.	= Journal of the Madras University
Jour. Num. Soc.	= Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.R.A.S.	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1834-63 First Series 1865 - New Series
J.R.A.S. (N.S.)	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)

K.

Kāmandaka	= Kāmandakīya Nītisāra
Kāt	= Kātyāyanī Smṛti

L.

Life	= Beal's translation of the Life of Hsuan-Tsang by Hui Li
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M.

Manu	= Manu Smṛti
M.A.S.I.	= Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Mbh	= Mahābhārata
Mbh. Śānti	= Mahābhārata Śāntiparvan
M.M.K. or AmM.M.K.	= Ārya Manju Śrī Mūla Kalpa
Moraes	= The Kadambakula

N.

N.H.I.P.	= New History of the Indian People Vol.6.
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P.

- P.H.A.I. = Political History of Ancient India
5th ed. (Raychaudhuri)
- Pires = The Maukharis
- P.T.O.C. = Proceedings and Transactions of the
All India Oriental Conference

Q.

- Q.J.M.S. = Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

R.

- Rapson = Indian Coins
- R. V. = R̥g Veda

S.

- Sankalita H.D. = The University of Nālandā
- S. B. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
- S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East
- Sinha, B.P. = The decline of the Kingdom of Magadha
- Śukra = Śukranītisāra

T.

- Tattva = Tattvasangrahaṇajika
- T.B. = Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa
- Tripathi = History of Kanauj

W.

Waley = The Real Tripitaka

Watters = (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India)
Hsi Yü Chi of Hsuan-tsang tr. by

Y.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya Smṛti

CHAPTER I

SOURCES

A study of the political history of northern India before and during the reign of Harṣa is of absorbing interest because of the comparative abundance and reliability of the source materials available on this period which may be placed between cir.A.D.550 to 650.

A connected story of the events of the latter half of the sixth century may be reconstructed mainly on the basis of epigraphic material, which when stripped off the conventional ornamental phrases proves a most trustworthy source. For a knowledge of the events and institutions of Harṣa's reign we can draw upon the numismatic and inscriptional evidence left not only by Harṣa himself but also by his predecessors, the Imperial Guptas and by his contemporaries the Later Guptas, the Maukharis, the Maitrakas, the Gurjaras, the Cālukyas and the Kings of

Nepal, Bengal and Orissa. Though the information yielded by these sources does not amount to a great deal, yet inscriptions being a generally reliable source, it can be accepted as true without much difficulty. But the accuracy of the facts narrated in biographies and travel accounts cannot be vouchsafed for so easily. Ulterior motives and fancies of the human mind are more likely to be at play in works of this nature than in short records of the kind of inscriptions. It so happens that we possess two such works on our period, the Harṣacarita, or the Deeds of Harṣa, by an Indian poet, Bāṇa, and the Hsi Yü Chi, or the Records of the western world by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang. These records are the main bases for resuscitating the story of Harṣa's reign but being written by authors towards whom Harṣa was favourably disposed, the question of the degree of the trustworthiness of their accounts needs to be thoroughly examined.

When recording the impressions of the Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang,⁽¹⁾ who remained in India for approximately thirteen years, on the administration of Harṣa, it is well to remember that he came of a family of administrators, and, despite the fact that he was a Buddhist monk, he evidently had a keen interest in politics, and, we believe, a background of the Confucian Classics, and Chinese political thought.

Hsüan-tsang's great grandfather had served as prefect of Shang-Tang in Shansi⁽²⁾ under the later Wei dynasty.⁽³⁾ His grandfather had obtained employment in the civil service by his distinguished scholarship and was appointed president of the Imperial College in Peking. Hsüan-tsang's father Hui was well known for his superior abilities, but, being a simple and contented man, did not seek honour or preferment. Anticipating the fall of the Sui dynasty⁽⁴⁾ he busied himself in the study of his books and persistently refused the many offers of provincial and district offices. A Confucianist, he probably took the attitude that one could influence politics even by one's actions as a layman. Hsüan-tsang, born in A.D. 602, was the youngest of the four sons of Hui. His love of books became manifest at a very early age and, being the

~~(1) Pronounced Hsüan-Chuang in modern Chinese.~~

(2) In N-C China

(3) A.D. 386-534

(4) Circa A.D. 589-618.

son of a scholar, he was given his first lessons in Confucianism and in other schools of Chinese thought as soon as he was ready to receive them.

His second brother - a Buddhist disciple - took Hsuan-tsang with him to a Buddhist convent when he was not even twelve. Before long at the grand ordination of new Buddhist monks held at Lo-yang, ⁽¹⁾ Hsuan-tsang was selected, despite his lack of years, to be a recluse under royal munificence. His older colleagues were amazed at his zeal and intelligence. Between the impressionable years of thirteen and twenty, Hsuan-tsang was tossed about from one monastery to another, in the general confusion that ensued from the fall of the Sui dynasty. There was lack of peace and order, people ceased to heed the teachings of Confucius or of Buddha, and no religious conferences took place at the capital. Natural calamities, such as famines, afflicted most parts of the country, while people were still suffering from the effects of political changes, and riots took place in most cities. In search of peaceful conditions, Hsuan-tsang and his brother went first to Ch'ang-an, then to Han-Chung, and finally, like many other Buddhist priests, to ⁽²⁾ Ch'eng-tu in the South-West, a place unaffected by famine.

(1) in Honan

(2) During his stay at Ch'eng-tu, Hsuan-tsang excelled in all fields of Buddhist studies and by his twentieth year was fully ordained as a Bhikṣu.

In A.D.626, the capital witnessed more political changes in the coup d'etat carried out by the Prince of Ch'in, later the emperor Tai Tsung. Hsüan-tsang, however, continued to live and study at Ch'eng-tu and later at Chao-chou and Ch'ang-an until he finally made up his mind to go and study Buddhism in the land of its birth. In spite of official hindrance in obtaining a passport and the tremendous hazards that lay in such a long journey, Hsüan-tsang set forth for India in A.D.629.

In that country he stayed for about thirteen years, travelling, going on pilgrimages, studying, debating, taking note of all that he saw, and not infrequently recording it to take back to his country. On his return to China Hsüan-tsang wrote a record of his western travels which is of immense value to the student of Harṣa's reign but has to be scrutinised carefully before being utilised as historical evidence.

A critical examination of Hsüan-tsang's work reveals that in general it is a trustworthy account of the conditions that prevailed in Harṣa's time, but that at places it has been affected by the author's preconceived ideas on government and administration, his early scholastic training, the code of behaviour of his country, and, last but not least, his fervour for Buddhism.

It seems that the eight years of disturbed conditions experienced by Hsüan-tsang during his adolescence left a deep impression on his mind, because, although the Chinese scholar was on several occasions, ⁽¹⁾ confronted by robbers and brigands during the course of his journey, once indeed in the heart of Harṣa's empire, he never complains of the lack of law and order in India. The presence of robbers and pirates in the country and the occurrence of such incidents, though by no means representative of the administrative system in general, does bring home the lack of efficiency in a particular branch of it. ~~Hsüan-tsang, however, makes~~

(1) *Life* pp. 73, 86, 191.

"Hsüan-tsang also suffered from the common weakness of drawing on a slight basis an exaggerated picture of conditions as he would have liked them to be. It was natural for the Chinese traveller to try to establish the importance of 'filial piety' in Indian Society, because it was one of the highest virtues according to the Chinese way of life. It was, no doubt, a sacred duty of the Indian sons and daughters to revere their parents, and elders, and the law punished them if they failed in fulfilling their duty, but the punishment was limited to fines.⁽¹⁾ Hsüan-tsang, however, writes that one who ^{the rules of morality or go against loyalty} ~~violated~~ and filial piety had his nose or ears or hands and feet cut off, or was exiled from the country or banished into ~~the wilderness~~.⁽²⁾

"Hsüan-tsang was also anxious to see in the land of the Buddha, the universal application of the doctrine of non-violence. He therefore writes with obvious satisfaction that Harṣa forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the five Indies ~~by punishment~~ without ^{hope of} pardon.⁽²⁾ We have no confirmatory evidence of

-
- (1) Kātyāyanī Smṛti does not mention this crime. Kautilya's Artha. III, 20 'When between father and son.....one abandons the other.....the first amercement (the lightest) shall be levied. Manu VIII, 389, for the same sin, 'unless guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, fixes a fine of 600 panas; for defaming 100 panas. For the mortal sins of murder and adultery in this relationship punishment was of course much severer but obviously Hsüan-tsang is not referring to such extreme cases.
- (2) Beal I. p.84. / II. 8a (of the Peking 1955 ed. of the Ta Tsang Hsi Yu Chi)
- (3) Beal I p.214. / V. 4a

this edict, and it seems very unlikely that a practical statesman of Harṣa's calibre would have considered its promulgation. An earlier statement of Hsüan-tsang⁽¹⁾ refers to meat-eating⁽²⁾ by the Hīnayāna Buddhists of Kucha (outside India). Harṣa could hardly have ignored the need of the Hīnayāna followers of his territories. In his general description of India, Hsüan-tsang, again, mentions the kinds of meat permissible and forbidden for consumption by the people.⁽³⁾ Bāṃra's reference⁽⁴⁾ to 'hares that ran hither and thither, pursued by furiously running crowds armed with clubs and struck at every place like polo balls', points, not only to the absence of a ban on animal-killing, at least in the early part of Harṣa's reign, but also to the cruel way - even though resorted to during the course of a march - in which the animals were killed. It is, however, possible that, as his Buddhist fervour increased in his middle age, Harṣa forbade meat-eating in the royal palace, as his predecessor Aśoka had done. Hsüan-tsang, either through misunderstanding or wishful thinking, might well have exaggerated this into a general prohibition.

(1) Watters I p.53 ff, Beal I p.18

(2) The three pure kinds of flesh - (i) unseen, unheard, unsuspected
(ii) natural death
(iii) bird-killed

(3) Beal I pp.88-9

(4) H.C.Text p.212 Trans. p.209.

Hsüan-tsang's religious fervour also finds expression in his miraculous Buddhist stories. Most of them are to be discarded as only partially true, inasmuch as they had some historical basis around which the stories of miracles were woven. The pilgrim reproduced them as he heard them, because he unquestioningly believed in anything that exalted his faith. Many episodes purporting to be his personal experiences are probably the results of wishful thinking, in his ardent desire to be the most true and sincere disciple of the Buddha.⁽¹⁾

The authenticity of Hsüan-tsang's statements regarding distances, directions, and population may also be sometimes questioned. The Life and the Hsi Yü Chi give conflicting figures in many cases. In cases of modern place-names we are often able to establish correct distances or directions: for example, in the case of the situation of Kanauj to the south-east of Sankassa.⁽²⁾

The situation of Kapittha has been given as east and south-east of Pi-lo-shan-na,⁽³⁾ by the Life and the Records

Eg: Beal I pp.93-4 & II p.173. Also see

(1) Life Book III. The story of the Cave of the Shadow; Bk III Offering of flowers to the figure of Avalokiteśvara.

(2) Watters I, p.340. The common texts of 'the Records' and 'the Life' have the reading 'north-west' whereas one edition (Korea & Japan Text - No.D. of Walters) says 'south-east' in agreement with Fa-Hsien's narrative. Cunningham (p.376) also reaches the same conclusion.

(3) Watters I pp.332-3 restores it as Vilasāna or Bhilasana. *The Life* (p.vi) as the reading P'i-lo-na-na of the D.Text which agrees with Cunningham (A.G.I.p.365) identifies the capital of P'i-lo-shan-na with 'the great mound of ruins called Atranjikhara situated on the right or west bank of the Kālī Nadi, four miles to the south of Karsana, and eight miles to the North of Eyta, on the Grand Trunk Road'.

respectively;⁽¹⁾ the distance given is the same. This may be a mere slip, or a copyists' error. Another similar mistake may be the distance given by the Life and the Records between the capital of Cīna Bhukti and the Tamasavana monastery⁽²⁾ as 50 and 500 li respectively. Hsüan-tsang assigns an area of 7,000 li to the capital of Kashmir, whereas the other Chinese authorities, e.g. Ma-Tuan-Lin⁽³⁾ give it the more probable area of 4,000 li. Such discrepancies, however, are few and far between, and considering the number of figures that the author has given in his long narrative, they are indeed remarkably few. In fact, the modern historian, in his anxiety to avoid credulousness, is prone to question certain figures quoted by Hsüan-tsang which, on the surface, seem unbelievable, but, on a thorough examination, prove to be quite natural and probable for that period of history to which they belong.

Two such examples are the number of Harṣa's war elephants⁽⁵⁾ and that of the students at the university of Nālandā, as recorded by Hsüan-tsang's⁽⁴⁾ biographer. We treat the first topic at length in the section on army in the chapter on Harṣa's administration,⁽⁴⁾ and Hsüan-tsang's⁽⁴⁾ figure of 10,000 for the students at Nālandā does not seem to be incorrect on the following grounds.

-
- (1) p.334 - Watters I.
 - (2) Watters I p.294, Beal I p.174
 - (3) Watters I p.261
 - (4) Life p.112.
 - (5) Beal I p.213

A comparison with the numbers of students at the smaller convents and monasteries and the fact that the University covered a much wider area than at present excavated, ⁽¹⁾ lead us to believe the number quoted by the Chinese traveller. ~~Then Chinese~~ account ⁽²⁾ as well as archaeological evidence ⁽³⁾ reveal that some buildings at Nālandā had at least as many as four storeys. Harṣa ^{is said to have} invited as many as 1,000 learned monks of Nālandā ⁽⁴⁾ to take part in the philosophical assembly at Kanauj. In the light of these facts, the total number of scholars at Nālandā may well have been 10,000, as recorded by Hsüan-tsang's biographer.

In spite of the occasional bias caused by Hsüan-tsang's Chinese background and religious zeal, the latter mostly finding expression in the form of stories of miracles, the value of the 'Records' as a source of history remains undiminished.

Hsüan-tsang wrote the account of his travels in China under the patronage of his own emperor; too far away and too secure to be affected by the reactions his book might produce

(1) Sankalia, pp.217-25, 'The Nālandā of Medieval times, however, unquestionably extended far beyond the limits of the site so far acquired for excavation the possibilities of further expansion.'

(2) Life, p.109.

(3) Sankalia, p.218

(4) Life, p.177 (i.e. 1/10th of the total.)

in India. Moreover, the Chinese author could have argued that the contents of his book, even if unfavourable to Harṣa, would never reach the latter's ears. There is no doubt that Hsüan-tsang had a special regard for Harṣa, but he was under no pressure whatsoever to give a favourable account of India or her peoples or rulers. If regard for his patron could have prevailed on Hsüan-tsang, so could his deep-rooted respect for certain tenets of the religions he studied, which taught him to be honest and truthful. Hsüan-tsang's sole aim was to study and promote Buddhism, not to exalt Indian rulers or seek favours from them. He pleased them inasfar as they helped him to fulfil his aim.⁽¹⁾ More than once, Hsüan-tsang risked the annoyance of Indian rulers by delaying or refusing to comply with their requests to visit them and stay with them for some length of time.⁽²⁾

Hsüan-tsang's love for his country, the Chinese emperor's generous patronage and Hsüan-tsang's obvious keenness to keep

(1) The second invitation of Kumāra-rājā to Hsüan-tsang was accompanied with the threat that if the pilgrim would refuse to comply with his request, Kumāra would harm the cause of Buddhism. Hsüan-tsang, on the advice of Śīlabhadra, fulfilled Kumāra's request.

(2) (In Turfan, Hsüan-tsang had to hunger-strike for three days to persuade the King to let him continue his journey to India.) He was not keen on visiting King Kumāra on the latter's first invitation and we learn from his discourse with Harṣa that he had chosen to complete his studies in preference to accepting Harṣa's first invitation.

his ruler pleased might be expected, if anything, to check the writer's eulogies of Harṣa, the more so because the emperors of the two countries were in diplomatic contact and it would not have been wise on Hsüan-tsang's part to eulogise the foreign ruler more than his own. (1)

From Hsüan-tsang's minute details of climates, and other facts concerning the different countries he visited, it would seem that he brought back with him 'a mass of papers consisting partly of records of his own experiences and partly of impersonal accounts of the various Indian and neighbouring kingdoms'. (2) The traveller seems to have lost some papers in the Indus flood on his return journey, but these were only fifty mss. copies of the Sūtras, which he later got copied, and seeds of various kinds. "With these exceptions, all else they (the escorts) ^{barely} managed to save". (3) Moreover, Hsüan-tsang was able to complete the records of his travels 'Hsi Yu Chi' by the autumn of A.D. 646, (4) within 3 years of leaving Harṣa and within 2 years of leaving the land of his travels. These two facts, thus greatly minimise the possibility that Hsüan-tsang's memory played tricks with him.

(1) Beal I p.217 [for eulogy of the Chinese emperor]

(2) Waley pp.89-90

(3) Life p.192 / p.249 b (Takakusu 50)

(4) Waley p.89

The accusation of some historians⁽¹⁾ that, owing to Harṣa's preference for Buddhism and his liberal patronage, the Chinese Buddhist monk gave only a prejudiced account of his benefactor's administration, may be ~~proved~~ ^{criticised} groundless on the strength of the following arguments.

The Buddhist pilgrim is not blindly partial to the Buddhist rulers of India nor blind to the good points of her non-Buddhist kings. The believers of his faith, such as the Kings of Jālandhara⁽²⁾ Kośala⁽³⁾ and Chih-chi-to (Jājhotī)⁽⁴⁾ have been praised for their love of virtue, wisdom and sagacity, but the non-believers also, the Hindu rulers of Maheśvarapura,⁽⁵⁾ Pārayātra⁽⁶⁾ and Ujjain,⁽⁷⁾ have been praised for their bravery and learning. The promoters of the Hīnayāna faith, for example the rulers of Hiranyaparvata⁽⁸⁾ and Gurjjara,⁽⁹⁾ have been called wise and benevolent. The pilgrim's enthusiasm in writing about his co-religionists and lack of enthusiasm in describing Hindu or Hīnayāna Kings can, however, be easily detected. On the other hand,

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- (1) R.C.Majumdar, Ancient India, p.263, S.K.Banerjee I.H.Q. Vol 27, 1951 pp 312-320
 (2) Beal I.p.176
 (3) Beal II, p.209.
 (4) Ibid, p.271
 (5) Ibid
 (6) Beal I.p.179
 (7) Beal II.p.271
 (8) Ibid. p.187
 (9) Ibid. p.270

the ruler of Valabhi, though a believer of his faith and a son-in-law of his patron, has been described by Hsüan-tsang as 'shallow in wisdom and statecraft and hasty in disposition'. The people of Bharukaccha,⁽¹⁾ 'wedded to ~~false~~ and true doctrine alike', having some ten saṅghārāmas and being adherents of the Great Vehicle and the Sthavira school, are still described as 'cold and indifferent, crooked and perverse', while the people of Matipura⁽²⁾ who, according to the pilgrim, were again equally divided in their religious beliefs, though the proportion of temples and saṅghārāmas (50:20) points to a majority of the non-believers, are, nevertheless, described as sincere and truthful and fond of learning.

The pilgrim's account of Mahārāṣṭra⁽³⁾ is particularly significant in this connection. The great monarch, Pulakeśin II, who was neither a Buddhist nor a patron of the Buddhist pilgrim, and who was an enemy of his enthusiastic admirer Harṣa, has been given fair treatment by Hsüan-tsang. "Pulakeśi's plans ~~was far sighted in his plans and undertakings are widespread,~~ and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects ~~love~~ him with utmost loyalty. Śīladitya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him".

(1) Ibid p.259 / XI. 14 a

(2) Beal I.p.192

(3) Beal II. p.256. / XI. 12 b

The King of Gauda, one of the rare examples of religious persecutors in ancient India, is said to have damaged and destroyed various sacred relics of the Buddhists. Though the Chinese pilgrim brings such facts to our notice and makes known his natural abhorrence of such acts, he cannot justly be accused of slandering Śaśāṅka as some historians have alleged.⁽¹⁾ Hsüan-tsang's denigration of Śaśāṅka is confined to calling him a heretic and attributing his death to a disease which struck him down after he was told that his orders to destroy an image of the Buddha had been carried out. Compared with Hsüan-tsang, Bāṇa is far more vehement in denouncing Śaśāṅka as the murderer of his King's brother Rājyavardhana.⁽²⁾

It can be seen from the above detailed discussion that, while guarding against certain prejudiced statements of Hsüan-tsang, we may liberally draw upon his Hsi Yü Chi and the allied work 'The Life' ~~the trustworthiness of which we discuss separately~~ for reconstructing the story of Harṣa's reign.

(1) R.C.Majumdar. History of Bengal Vol.I, p.62 and Ch.IV, App.II.

(2) H.C.Trans. pp.179-80.

'The Life of Hsüan-tsang' (1) written by two of his disciples, Hui-li and Yen-ts'ung, is complementary to the Hsi Yü Chi, and throws light on various aspects of Indian life in the seventh century. While focusing on topics of Buddhist interest, it makes incidental note of certain facts about Harṣa's career which would otherwise have remained unknown to us. The Life generally corroborates the information given by the Hsi Yü Chi, but often it records new facts or clarifies those mentioned in the latter work. "The Life" is thus of immense value for filling in details of Harṣa's reign.

Chapters 1 - 5 of the book were written by the monk Hui-li and were completed between the end of A.D. 648 and the summer of 649. Chapters 6 - 10, dealing with Hsüan-tsang's career after his return to China, are by the monk Yen-ts'ung, who continued and perhaps to some extent edited the work of Hui-li. The latter died in Cir. A.D. 670, or a little later, and the whole ten chapters were published by Yen-ts'ung in A.D. 688. (2)

The material of the 'Records' had been put together by Hsüan-tsang's helpers under his own supervision. As Hui-li

(1) The full title is: Ta-tz'u-ên Ssu San-tsang Fa-shih Chuan, or Life of the Master of the Law, Tripitaka, of the Great Monastery of Motherly Love.

(2) Waley, p.280.

was on the board of assistants for the 'Records' and was in close contact with Hsüan-tsang while writing the biography, 'The Life', although a second-hand account, which also underwent some editing, may yet be considered as only slightly inferior to the 'Records' as a reliable source for Harṣa's reign.

Bāṇa, the court poet of Harṣa, has been accused by some scholars of writing a biased and therefore untrue account of the life of his patron, in the latter's biography entitled, 'Harṣacarita'. For several reasons, however, we believe that, behind the obvious exaggeration and panegyrics, typical of the courtly literature of the time, there is to be found a realistic picture of contemporary life in Bāṇa's work on Harṣa.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the son of a learned Brahman and, though his childhood was spent under the tender care of his father, his youth was spent in sowing wild oats. The life of a wanderer, who loved mixing with people of all social grades, gave him, in addition to an evil repute, a boldness of character and a sympathetic understanding of human nature.

Apart from having dear friends in a bard, a goldsmith, a drummer, a scribe, a maid, etc. Bāṇa had two half-brothers of low caste.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, he had ample opportunity to mix with high class Brahmans, learned scholars, the royal courtiers, and even the King himself. His first-hand knowledge of the life of the people of all social strata⁽²⁾ as well as his easy access to the royal quarters, qualified Bāṇa for giving

(1) H.C.Trans. p.32.

(2) It is possible that Bāṇa might have been present at one of Harṣa's own weddings or on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to the King of Valabhi.

an authentic and realistic account of events, unless of course he chose to do otherwise in order to please his benefactor. Though most of the contents of the Harṣacarita refer to the earlier part of Harṣa's career, when Bāṇa was out of the picture, yet many of its episodes, such as the beginning of a campaign, a royal birth, or a royal wedding, must have been repeated in Harṣa's later career when Bāṇa could have witnessed them. As for the descriptions of Harṣa's accession, his treaty with the King of Kāmarūpa or his search for his bereaved sister, Bāṇa no doubt depended on hearsay, but it is evident that, because of his curious nature⁽¹⁾ and lively disposition, as well as his versatility in mixing with different kinds of people, Bāṇa collected all the available information on these topics. There is little doubt that he picked up much court gossip, but the general tenor of his work suggests that most of his important statements are based on authentic information.

Bāṇa has made use of his material very cleverly in the Harṣacarita. He has the courage to refer to facts which were not flattering to Harṣa's prestige, and the practical wisdom so to weave them into the web of his words that they could not cause offence to his patron. The Harṣacarita affords

(1) To which weakness Bāṇa confesses more than once while looking around the King's camp. H.C.Trans. p. 51
Text p.64.

numerous examples of Bāṇa's skill in achieving this effect. The brief period of uncertainty that followed the death of Rājyavardhana while fighting for the defence of Kanauj, was, we believe, used by Harṣa for canvassing the ministers of that kingdom in favour of his own succession to the throne of Kanauj. Bāṇa, however, writes - 'He (Harṣa) was embraced by the goddess of Royal Prosperity, who.....forced him, however reluctant, to mount the throne.....'.⁽¹⁾ The discourse between the ambassador of the King of Kāmarūpa and Harṣa, as worded by Bāṇa, gives one the impression that the author was well aware of the importance of Kāmarūpa as an ally of Harṣa, especially in the former part of the latter's reign, a fact also established through other sources of information on Harṣa's period. The story of this alliance has so been presented as neither to harm facts nor to hurt Harṣa's pride.

As for Bāṇa's exuberant expressions, keeping in mind the florid style of his period, it is not very difficult to separate fact from flattery in his Harṣacarita. Our knowledge of Harṣa's personal appearance, for example, may be considered to be practically nil, though Bāṇa devotes several pages to it.⁽²⁾ By reading other Sanskrit poets, we learn that the features of their heroes and heroines were described to the minutest

(1) H.C. Trans. p.57.

(2) H.C. Trans. pp.56-64.

detail in completely formal and standardised phrases. The information given about royal attire should, however, be considered authentic, as also the description of the dress and appearance of the mountaineer, Nirghāta. (1)

Certain of Bāṇa's descriptions, such as those of the King's household, the royal camp and the forest-dwelling in the Vindhya, despite the artificial style of those days, are so vivid that they enable us to live the life of that period once again. Bāṇa's sense of humour and his lively and vigorous style spare neither the common servant nor the royal master, in the course of his narrative. This fundamental realism is nowhere better shown than in the passage containing the ejaculations of his soldiers and retainers on the occasion of Harṣa's marching forth on his digvijaya. "Quick, slave, with a knife cut a mouthful of fodder from this beanfield: Who can tell the fate of his crop when we are gone?", or "Only let this one expedition be gone and done with.... Let it go to the bottom of hell.... Good luck to this servitude of ours.... Good-bye to this camp, the pinnacle of all unpleasantness". Also, "The King is Dharma incarnate", and, "Where is the King? What right has he to be the King? What a King!" (2) Elsewhere it has been noticed (3) that in his novel Kādambarī Bāṇa denounces

(1) H.C. Trans. C. & T. pp. 230-1

(2) H.C. Trans. C. & T. pp. 207-9.

(3) See below p. 275

the foolish king who is easily taken in by the flattery of his roguish courtiers.

Thus we see that, despite Bāṇa's position at Harṣa's court, his works display a boldness unusual in the court-poets of ancient times. We may therefore conclude that, ignoring certain topics on which Bāṇa lavished his poetical skill and eulogies too generously, we can, by and large, depend on his works as an important source of information on conditions in Harṣa's time.

CHAPTER II

KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

The last days of the Guptas

The second quarter of the sixth century witnessed the downfall of the great Gupta empire. It also saw the filling of the vacuum which they left, not by another sovereign paramount ruler, but by several lesser dynasties, which, taking advantage of the troublous times, declared their independence of Gupta suzerainty.

From the time of Skanda Gupta onwards, the Hūna invaders of Central Asia continually disturbed the peace of the Guptas. Skanda Gupta had successfully repulsed their attack in Cir. A.D. 455.⁽¹⁾ The Eran inscription of A.D. 510⁽²⁾ records the brave fighting of Bhanu Gupta, probably against the Hūna chief Toramāna. The latter's son Mihirakula had a chequered career in India, sometimes scoring brilliant victories while at other times suffering humiliation and defeat. Hsuan-tsang records his discomfiture at the hands of Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya⁽³⁾ and, Yaśodharman, in his Mandasorē inscription dated A.D. 533, claims that 'respect was paid to his feet by even that (famous) king Mihirakula whose head had never (previously) been

(1) C.I.I. Vol. III, Nos. 13 & 14.

(2) Ibid No. 20.

(3) ~~Berz~~ I p. 168,

brought to the humility of obeisance to any other save Sthānu.....' (1) The repeated Hūna incursions and the meteoric appearance of Yaśodharman shook the Gupta empire to its very foundations. The tendency to family rifts which started with the accession of Skanda Gupta and continued to increase in later reigns made confusion worse confounded.

Viṣṇu Gupta-Candrāditya was probably last in the line of the great Gupta emperors and is known to us from his Nālandā seal (2) as well from his gold coinage of rather low gold content. (3) The fifth Damodarpur Copper-plate dated A.D. 543-44, (4) mentioning the titles Prthvīpati Paramadaivata Paramabhṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja for a Gupta emperor whose name is lost is almost certainly a record of Viṣṇu Gupta's period. The Valabhi grant of A.D. 545 (5) contains one of the last references to the nominal suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas in an outlying province of their empire. An inscription recently discovered at the village of Surmaṇḍala in Khallikote, Orissa (6) records that King Prthivi-vigraha was ruling over Kalinga, in the dominion of the Guptas, in the year 250 (=A.D. 569-70). On the basis of this, Professor

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- (1) C.I.I. Vol. III No. 33. Sthanvisvara, the original home of the Vardhanas gets its name from Sthānu, an epithet of Śiva, whose temple adorned the city.
 (2) E.I. XXVI pp. 235 ff.
 (3) Rapson- Indian Coins p. 26. Sinha p. 425 quotes Allan's report on Gupta gold coins. The gold content of Viṣṇu-Gupta's coins is stated to be 43%.
 (4) E.I. XVII p. 193.
 (5) E.I. XV pp. 114-5 and XVII p. 193
 (6) I.H.Q. XXVI p. 75.

Majumdar believes that 'some Gupta emperors continued to rule for another quarter of a century',⁽¹⁾ (i.e. from Cir.A.D.550 to 570). It is impossible to imagine that while the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, who had been feudatories to the Guptas, were still fighting with each other for supremacy, the members of a well-established dynasty could become obscure and pass their last years in ignominy. Even the Later Guptas and the Maukharis themselves could not have dared to humble their overlords who, though feeble, had a halo round their dynastic name. The reason for the acknowledgement of Gupta suzerainty in the Orissa inscription can be easily explained. The old Gupta feudatories in the comparatively remote region of Orissa did not entertain the ambition of establishing an independent dynasty and continued to use the conventional formula even some twenty years after it had lost its meaning. A land-grant dated A.D.551-2 of Kumārāmātya Mahārāja Nandana found at Gayā,⁽²⁾ in the very centre of Magadha makes no reference to Gupta suzerainty. R.C.Majumdar also writes: 'As there is no reference to any Gupta ruler in this record, we may conclude that by A.D.550, the Guptas had ceased to exercise effective authority over the greater part of Magadha'.⁽³⁾ That Gupta suzerainty ceased to be recognised in Magadha, only shortly

(1) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.44

(2) E.I. X p.49 ff.

(3) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.44.

before the date of the Gayā inscription is evident from the use of only humble titles by Mandana. The Jaina work *Harivaṃśa* records that the Gupta rule lasted 231 years. (1) Reckoning from A.D. 320, the beginning of the Gupta era, it brings down Gupta rule to the middle of the sixth century A.D. Fleet expresses the opinion that the number given by the *Harivaṃśa* is not far from accurate. (2) New powers which had once been feudatories of the Guptas were now beginning to clash with each other in an attempt to gain supremacy. These were the Later Guptas in Magadha, the Maukharis in the eastern districts of modern U.P., the Vardhanas in the western U.P. and Eastern Punjab, the Varmans in Kāmarūpa, the Maitrakas in Valabhi, the Kalacūrīs in Mālava and, far away from the Gupta domains, the Cālukyas in Bādāmi.

The Later Guptas

Working backwards from A.D. 554, the date of the Hārāhā inscription of Īśānavarman Maukhari, (3) whose contemporary was Kumāragupta, the fourth king of the later Gupta dynasty, and, allotting an average of about 20 years rule to each monarch in that troublous period, we arrive at the conclusion that the first later Gupta King Kṛṣṇagupta, whose genealogy we obtain

(1) as quoted in I.A.XV p.142

(2) Ibid

(3) E.I. XIV p.110 ff.

from the Aḥṣad inscription of Ādityasena,⁽¹⁾ held authority at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. The first Maukhari King Harivarman was the third ancestor of Īśānavarman, just as Kṛṣṇagupta was of Kumāragupta. Thus Harivarman's rise may be assigned to the same period as that of Kṛṣṇagupta.

Both the Later Guptas and the Maukharis doubtless served as feudatories under the Imperial Guptas. The Aḥṣad inscription attributes to Kṛṣṇagupta, the founder of the dynasty, the simple titles of Nṛpa and Śrī, and states that he was of good descent (śadvaiṃśah). The third King Jīvitagupta is called 'Kṣitīśa Cudāmaṇi' or the best among kings. The term Kṣitipāla, synonymous with Kṣitīśa, occurs among the various words which Bāṇa employs to denote Harṣa's feudatories.⁽²⁾ None of the later Gupta inscriptions claim any family relationship with the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The name ending 'gupta' and the provenance of the Later Gupta inscriptions, therefore should not mislead us into believing that the Later Guptas belonged to the main Gupta line, which came into prominence in the fourth century A.D. As said by R. C. Majumdar,⁽³⁾ 'they may be regarded as the residuary legatee of the Gupta empire'.

Fleet,⁽⁴⁾ writing at the end of the last century, designated the dynasty of Kṛṣṇagupta as the 'Later Guptas of Magadha'.

(1) C.I.I. Vol. III No. 42

(2) See Below p. 277

(3) N.E.I.P. Vol. VI p. 209 (4) C.I.I. III Intro. p. 10.

In the last sixty years, however, there has been endless controversy among scholars as to the home of the later Guptas. Hoernle⁽¹⁾ regarded them as a branch of the Imperial Gupta family ruling in Eastern Mālava. Among Hoernle's main supporters is Dr. H. C. Raychandhuri, who holds that Mālava was the chief centre of the Later Guptas, but that their headquarters was shifted to Magadha in the time of Ādityasena.⁽²⁾ While discussing the question of the original home of the Later Guptas, we shall have to make frequent reference to the Maukhari rulers, because both dynasties were closely inter-linked during this period.

The main argument of the supporters of the Mālava theory is that Mādhavagupta of the Harṣacarita, who is the same as Mādhavagupta of the Aṃśad inscription, is described by Bāṇa as the son of the king of Mālava.⁽³⁾ They also say that, as the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jīvitagupta II mentions the names of two Maukhari Kings, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, immediately after that of Bālādityadeva, as donees of Vārūṇikā, a village in the Shahabad district of Bengal, the possibility of the rule of any other line except those of the Imperial Guptas and Maukharis, in that region, is excluded. Moreover, Hsuan-tsang, they remark, who visited Magadha in the seventh century A.D., records the names of two kings, Pūrṇavarman and

(1) J.R.A.S. 1903 pp.551 ff.

(2) P.H.A.I. 4th Ed. pp.492-3

(3) H.C. Tr.p.119.

Śaśāṅka, in connection with Magadha but is quite silent about Mādhavagupta, having anything to do with that kingdom. Edward A. Pires, with undue enthusiasm for his subject, not only claims for the Maukharis the heritage of Magadha from the Imperial Guptas, but also writes that 'the Maukharis actually dominated Magadha before Candragupta I usurped the throne from them. (1)

None of these arguments disproves that the Later Guptas, until the early years of the reign of Mahāsenagupta, could have been the rulers of Magadha. Nor can the Mālava theory *satisfactorily* explain the victory of Mahāsenagupta over a king of Kāmarūpa in a battle which was probably fought on the banks of the river Lauhitya. Ray-Chaudhuri writes that Mahāsenagupta could have achieved it in the same way as did Yaśodharman of Mālava. Moreover, he says, 'When Kumāragupta had pushed to Prayāga and Dāmodaragupta had 'broken up the.....array of.....elephants belonging to the Maukharis,.....and the Gauḍa expansion had already been stopped for a time by the victories of Īśānavarman, what was there to prevent the son of Dāmodaragupta from pushing on to the Lauhitya.' (2)

It seems to us that the Aḥśad inscription does not give such a bright picture of the fortunes of the Later Guptas as is depicted by scholars. Maukhari power seems to have been

(2) E.B.O.R.S. XV pp.651 ff.

(1) Pires pp.14-16. His basis is the identification of the Magadhakula of the Kaumudi Mahotsava with the Koṭa family of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta - also see *supra* p.46

in the ascendant, indeed from the time of Kumāragupta onwards, for though the Aphsad inscription attributes to him a victory over Īśānavarman Maukhari; it also states that (Kumāragupta) (Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth (śaurya-satyavrata)went to Prayāga; (and there) honourably decorated with flowers, plunged (magnaḥ) into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water'. Most historians take this verse to indicate that Kumāragupta's territory extended to Prayāga, and Fleet, in a footnote on the verse, states that it does not necessarily mean that Kumāra placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive. But a careful study of the verse leads us to believe that it implies more than it has been hitherto understood to convey. Instances are not wanting in ancient Indian history of Kings vowing to abandon all the comforts of life, or even to embrace death, if a cherished objective is not reached. Harṣa made a comparatively simple promise when he said that 'he would not lift food with his right hand until his brother's enemies were punished'.⁽¹⁾ Kumāragupta, however, seems to have taken the very grim vow of giving up a life if he did not succeed in achieving his object, which may have been to kill his Maukhari adversary or to seize a certain portion of his territory. The Aphsad inscription probably exaggerates his victory over Īśānavarman. Whatever the degree of Kumāragupta's success,

(1) Beal I p. 213 / V. 4a

he probably felt that he had failed in realising his object and should therefore part with life in fulfillment of his sacred vow. The general belief that attainment of heaven was ensured for those who died at the holy city of Prayāga may have guided the choice of Kumārāgupta also. Prayāga may have formed a part of Kumārāgupta's domains, but he could have fulfilled this wish irrespective of whether the city fell in his own territory or that of his adversary.

Kumārāgupta's son, Dāmodaragupta, continued the struggle with the Maukhari rivals. He is said to have fought a fierce battle against the Maukhari King, on whom he probably inflicted great losses, but at the cost of his own life.⁽¹⁾

Ray-Chaudhuri's statement '....what was there to prevent the son of Dāmodaragupta.....from pushing on to the Lauhitya (from his Kingdom of Mālava, which already extended up to Prayāga)', would carry little meaning if the Later Guptas were passing through such difficult times. Moreover, the Later Guptas, if they were ruling at Mālava as supposed by Ray-Chaudhuri, would be little concerned with the subjugation of the distant Kāmarūpa, especially if the territory of a formidable enemy intervened between the two countries. Mahāsenā Gupta achieved success against Sūsthitavarman mainly because his kingdom lay close to Kāmarūpa, and to the east of that of the Maukharis, so

(1) K.C.Chattopadhyaya - Bhandarkar Volume pp.181 ff. argues that the passage in the Apsad inscription does not convey that the King died, but that he lost consciousness and later woke up. His conclusion is quite unconvincing. Death was rarely directly mentioned in praśastis, but was recorded in veiled allusions or euphemisms.

that he did not have to pass through the territory of one enemy before reaching that of the next.

Hsüan-tsang does not mention the name of Mādhavagupta in connection with Magadha, probably because he is only telling us about the activities of pious and heretical Kings in that region. The argument from the Deo-Barnark inscription is far from conclusive because the mention of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman after Bālādityarāja only proved that Magadha was under Maukhari rule from the time of Śarvavarman onwards. Bāṇa's statement that Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta were sons of the King of Mālava only establishes that Mahāsenagupta was ruling in Mālava at the time he sent his sons to Prabhākara^avardhana's court.

It seems to us that the Later Guptas might originally have had some connection with Mālava, inasmuch as that the first or the second king of the line may have been a feudatory of ~~Bhānu Gupta~~ and not of Narsimha Gupta or Vainya Gupta. This, among other factors, might have persuaded Mahāsenagupta to settle in Malava when he was practically driven from the ^{at} Gangetic plain. We, however, also believe that/a fairly early stage in their history the Later Guptas had established a stronghold in Magadha. The slow disintegration of the Gupta empire aroused the ambitions of many promising feudatories, and a footing in Magadha was most important for achieving effective success against any other claimants to the throne of the

Guptas. In fact the name-ending 'Gupta' may also have been chosen deliberately by the progenitor of the Later Gupta dynasty, in an attempt to bring the family closer, in the eyes of the people, to the well-established Imperial Gupta dynasty.

The Aḥṣad inscription records that Jīvitagupta, the third member of the Later Gupta dynasty, was 'the very terrible scorching fever of fear, (who) left not (his) haughty foes even though they stood on sea-side shores.....or even though they stood on that mountain (Himālaya) which is cold.....' The reference seems to be to the people of Gauḍa, who were chastised by the Later Gupta King probably on behalf of his Imperial Gupta overlord. The fourth Maukhari King Īśānavarman also conducted a campaign against a people on the sea coast whom he definitely states to be Gauḍas, and forced them to take shelter in the marshes of that region. Thus the clash of Jīvitagupta with a ruler of Bengal suggests that his centre of power must have been in close proximity to that region.

The Aḥṣad inscription tells us that the next Later Gupta King, Kumāragupta, defeated the Maukhari King Īśānavarman. The plantain-trees, masses of water and rocks are once again alluded to in similes, and this suggests that this battle too may have been fought in the neighbourhood of Gauḍa. The suggestion of this region as the field of battle again tends

to support the theory that the Later Guptas had their headquarters in Maghadda.

We have just mentioned that the fourth Maukhari also fought against the Gaudas. North-western Bengal was probably at that time ruled by Dharmāditya, the second member of Gopacandra's new dynasty.⁽¹⁾ Both the Later Guptas and the Maukharis were intent upon uprooting this new power, because a hold over the important province of Bengal would have conclusively tipped the scale in favour of her possessor.

Kumārāgupta's son, Dāmodaragupta, also fought the Maukharis, who may have been led either by Īśānavarman or by one of his sons. This must have been a fierce battle, because both the houses were getting impatient to achieve a final victory. Dāmodaragupta lost his life in the encounter, but the result of the battle does not seem to have been decisive.

Damodaragupta was succeeded by Mahāsenagupta, who seems to have achieved noteworthy success at the beginning of his career. Probably to secure an initial advantage over the Maukharis, Mahāsenagupta aligned himself with the rising Puṣyabhūti dynasty by marrying his sister, Mahāsenaguptā, to Ādityavardhana,⁽²⁾ the grandfather of Harṣa. The Maukharis must have felt uneasy, for the neighbouring kingdoms on both

(1) I.A.XXXIX, pp.193-216 & E.I.XVIII pp.74 ff. Six copper-plate grants have preserved the names of three Kings of this dynasty, viz: Gopacandra, Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva. They all assumed the title 'Mahārājādhirāja', and their period may be fixed between A.D. 525-575.

(2) The similarity in names is the basis for this presumption. As the practice of naming sisters and brothers in this manner was common in those days, it is a fairly safe conclusion.

sides of them were now allied - a typical example of the policy of Maṇḍala. The Maukharis perhaps engaged themselves in getting ready for the next encounter.

A great success now awaited Mahāsenagupta in the east of his kingdom. It was probably a spell of anarchy or weak rule in Bengal⁽¹⁾ in circa A.D. 575 which encouraged the ambitious Later Gupta to undertake a campaign in Kāmarūpa in which he attained remarkable success. In contrast to the statements in the Aṃśad inscription about his predecessors, who are said to have '.....churned that formidable milk ocean, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman.....' or '.....broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari', Mahāsenagupta is specifically stated to have acquired great fame 'marked with the honour of victory in war over Śrī Susthitavarman'.⁽²⁾

After this reputed success, however, Mahāsenagupta fell on evil days. It seems that one invader after another sought to conquer Magadha and, with his natural enemies, the Maukharis, to take advantage of any adverse situation; the Later Gupta was virtually obliged to take shelter in Mālava. The Cālukya King Kīrttivarman, who ruled from A.D. 567 to 597, extended his territory in the South but

(1) See footnote (1) on last page below p. 71

(2) C. I. I. III No. 42.

is also stated to have subdued Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga and Magadha.⁽¹⁾ The conventional claim is no doubt an exaggeration, but his sweeping raids on territories adjacent to those of Mahāsenagupta must have served to raise the morale of the Maukhari and lower that of the Later Gupta. Moreover, the chronicles of Tibet record⁽²⁾ that her powerful King Sron-btsan, who ruled between A.D. 581 and 600, led a victorious campaign to Central India, a term which may be taken to mean Bihar or U.P. This raid may have further weakened the position of Mahāsenagupta, and his Maukhari adversary Śarvavarman or Sūryavarman,⁽³⁾ finding a suitable opportunity to assert his power, may have inflicted a severe defeat on the Later Gupta. Though this battle has not been alluded to in any of the Maukhari inscriptions available to us, the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jīvitagupta II, in referring to Śarvavarman and Avantivarman as donors of the village of Vārūnika ⁱⁿ and Magadha, confirms the fact of Maukhari rule in Magadha from the reign of Śarvavarman onwards.⁽⁴⁾

(1) I.A.XIX, pp. 7 ff. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa.

(2) Lévi, Nepal II, p. 147 ff.

(3) A Sūryavarman is described in the Sirpur Stone inscription of his daughter's son Mahāśivagupta (E.I.XI pp. 184 ff) as 'born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha'. See supra pp.

(4) Until the Later Gupta Ādityasena replaced the Maukharis after the death of Harsa.

It is probable that in Bengal Jayanāga came to power at this time: he appears to have been the predecessor of Śaśanka,⁽¹⁾ and his Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant⁽²⁾ and coins⁽³⁾ may be approximately ascribed to this period. Thus pressed from all sides Mahāsenagupta retired to Mālava, but evidence shows that there too his peace and position were attacked, this time by a Kalacūri monarch. The Abhonā plates of Saṅkaragaṇa⁽⁴⁾ dated A.D. 595-96 (the year 347 of the Kalacūri era), are stated to have been issued from the victorious camp of Ujjain. Mahāsenagupta, whose headquarters must have been at Ujjain because it was the capital city of Mālava, was now probably pushed eastwards in the direction of Vidiśa, where he spent the rest of his days until his death in cir. A.D. 601.⁽⁵⁾ In A.D. 608-9, the Kalacūris occupied Vidiśa also, as is evident from their Vadner Grant dated 608.⁽⁶⁾ In circa A.D. 616-17, the Maitrakas gained control of Ujjain.⁽⁷⁾

Scholars have endlessly argued as to what comprised the Mālava of Mahāsenagupta. On the basis of the commentator's note in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra⁽⁸⁾ dated circa fifth century A.D., that

(1) ~~Vide infra pp. See Below pp 75-78~~

(2) Ep. Ind. XVIII pp. 60 ff.

(3) C.C.G.D.B.M. pp. 150-1, Pl. XXIV, 6-9.

(4) The son of Kṛṣṇarāja of the Sankhedā grant of Santilla (E.I. IX pp. 296) and father of Buddharāja.

(5) Harsa became the King of Sthānviśvara in A.D. 606. Looking backwards from this date and allowing five years for the various events that crowded the years before his accession, (Rājyaśrī's wedding, Rājyavardhana's campaign against the Hunas, the King's illness and death, Rājya's return and battle against the King of Mālava), we get A.D. 601 as the date of the presentation of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta at the court of Sthānviśvara. The same presumably was the date of death of the princes' father Mahāsenagupta.

(6) E.I. XII pp. 30 ff.

(7) P.T.O.C. (Seventh) pp. 659 ff. (8) Adhikaraṇa IVI

Mālava without a prefix should be taken to denote Eastern Mālava, Tripathi⁽¹⁾ and D. C. Sircar⁽²⁾ identify Bāṇa's Mālava with the modern district of Bhilsa. Raychaudhuri discusses the Sapta-Mālava⁽³⁾ and puts forth the conjecture that Mahāsenagupta probably held 'Pūrva-Mālava', parts of U. P. and at times Magadha as well.⁽⁴⁾ Law holds a similar view.⁽⁵⁾

It would be safe to assume that all the notices of Mālava by Bāṇa refer to the same region. The different contexts in which Mālava appears in the Harṣacarita and the Kādambarī do afford some clue as to its situation. The Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras are mentioned together,⁽⁶⁾ which suggests that geographically they were placed near each other.⁽⁷⁾ As noticed by Dr. Sinha, Bāṇa in his description of Ujjayinī, refers twice to the lovely Mālaviś (the women of Mālava) who adorned this beautiful city.⁽⁸⁾ The Mālava of the Kādambarī and the Harṣacarita being the same, Mahāsenagupta was thus the ruler of Ujjain among other cities. That Ujjain was the chief city of an extensive kingdom is shown by the account of Hsüan-tsang, according to whom the distance

(1) P.46

(2) J.A.S.B.L. (letters) XI (1945) p.69 ff.

(3) p.492 fn. (4th Ed).

(4) p.512

(5) Ancient Indian Tribes Vol. II p.41

(6) H.C.Text p.120

(7) pp.180-1

(8) pp.211 and 214

the next kingdom

between Ujjain and Chih-chi-to or Jajhoti in Bundelkhand (1)
was ~~only~~ above 1,000 li, i.e. about 167 miles. (2) The fact

(1) A.G.I. p.550 ff. Watters (Vol.II p.25) identifies it with Chitor on the basis of the distance recorded by Hsuan-tsang. But Chitor is situated in the north-west of the city of Ujjain, whereas the direction taken by the pilgrim from Ujjain to Chih-chi-to is stated to be north-east, both in the Records (ibid) and the Life (p.150). Moreover, the pilgrim describes the country 'as especially celebrated for the fertility of its soil'. He tells us that the land was regularly cultivated and yielded abundant crops, among which were wheat and pulses. Fruit and flowers grew in abundance, and the climate was temperate. This description definitely fits Bundelkhand better than it does Rājasthān. H. C. Ray (Vol.II pp.669-670) brings to our notice that as a fragmentary inscription of the Candellas (E.I. I p.221) tells us that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to Jegā-bhukti and as Jayaśakti's date cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the ninth century, Cunningham's identification must be given up. We must not, however, forget that the inscriptions always make grandiose claims for their Kings, connecting their names with celebrated dynasties or celebrated towns. Jegā-bhukti, Jejākā-bhukti or Jejābhuktikā, may have existed for a long time before Jayaśakti, whose advent added to the importance of that place. Also, there may be some connection between the facts that a Brahman King ruled Chih-chi-to in Hsuan-tsang's day (Beal II p.271), and that the Jajhotiya brahmins inhabit this region today, along with Candella Rajputs. (A.G.I. pp.552-3).

(2) ~~Beal~~ II p.271. also see Watters II. p. 251.

that the actual distance between the two cities is about double that recorded by Hsuan-tsang leads us to believe that the pilgrim probably calculated the distance of 1,000 li as existing between the boundary of the country whose main city was Ujjain, i.e. Mālava, and Jajhoti. Dr. Sinha concludes from this that the eastern boundary of Mahāsenagupta's Mālava may have touched the modern Eran, whose distance from Jajhoti is not far removed from 167 miles.⁽¹⁾ The important city of Vidiśā would also thus be included in Mahāsenagupta's Mālava. Ujjain, a Mālava town according to Bāṇa,⁽²⁾ fell into the hands of Kalacūris in A.D. 595-96, but Mahāsenagupta, who lived until A.D. 601, and whose sons went to the court of Sthāṇviśvara in that year,⁽³⁾ is still called the King of Mālava by Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita. We therefore reach the obvious conclusion that Mahāsenagupta continued to stay in one of the eastern cities of his kingdom, which was probably Vidiśā. As we have seen, Vidiśā was not occupied by the Kalacūris until A.D. 608-9, the date of their Vāḍner Grant.

The Chinese pilgrim's account gives the description of a certain Mo-la-po ruled by a Valabhi King. Smith discussed

(1) p. 186.

(2) Kādambarī Tr. pp. 211 & 214.

(3) It may be argued that Mahāsenagupta might have sent his sons to Sthāṇviśvara after the fall of Ujjain in A.D. 595-6. According to this assumption at least ten years will have to be allowed for the events that took place in the latter part of Prabhākara-vardhana's reign. Bāṇa's account gives the impression that they happened in quick succession, without much lapse of time between any two events. Therefore the five years^{time} (601-606) allotted by us, which placed the presentation of the princes in Cir. A.D. 601, seems to be more correct.

the question of its location at great length and reached the conclusion that Mo-la-po was bounded on the north by the Gurjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, on the north-west by Vadnagar (A-nan-to-po-lo), on the east by the Kingdom of Avanti, on the west by Valabhi and on the south by the mouth of Māhī river.⁽¹⁾ Despite the fact that Hsüan-tsang attributes to Mo-la-po a greater area than allowed by Smith, the latter's findings seem to be convincing. As observed by Sinha, the pilgrim when recording the area of Mo-la-po might have included in it the area of her vassal states as well.⁽²⁾ Most scholars now associate the Mo-la-po of Hsüan-tsang with the Mālavaka-āhāra of the Valabhi inscriptions.⁽³⁾ In this connection, the significance of two small notes inserted by Hsüan-tsang at the beginning of the descriptions of Mo-la-po and Fa-la-pi has been generally missed by scholars. The Chinese pilgrim observes that another name for Mo-la-po was South-lo, or South-lo-lo, and for Fa-la-pi (Valabhi) North-lo. King Śīlāditya of the Mo-la-po of Hsüan-tsang has been identified with the Valabhi King of that name who was the elder brother of Kharagraha I. On the basis of the former's Bhadreniyalla Grant⁽⁴⁾ in which the two brothers are compared to Indra and Upendra, and Śīladitya's own son does

(1) E.H.I. 4th Ed. pp.343-44

(2) p.183

(3) S.N. Majumdar, C.A.G.I. p.478; Law, Ancient Indian Tribes II pp.41-2.

(4) E.I. XXI pp.116 ff.

not appear as the dūtaka, it is rightly surmised that a clash occurred between the two brothers and Śīlāditya had to concede a considerable portion of his kingdom to his brother Kharagraha.⁽¹⁾ The 'Valabhi-rājya' was divided into north and south kingdoms, Śīlāditya retaining Mo-la-po with her dependencies, and Kharagraha occupying the northern portions of the kingdom. These two divisions are apparently referred to as South-lo-lo and North-lo by Hsuan-tsang. Beal gives Lāra as the Sanskrit equivalent of lo-lo, while Watters suggests Lāṭa, which seems to be a probable identification.

From the above discussion it is apparent that the later Gupta King Mahāsenagupta, who, in the earlier part of his reign, had his centre of activity in Magadha, was forced to retire to his distant principality of Mālava, where he could still muster some loyal supporters on account of his family's early connection with that region.⁽²⁾ Mahāsenagupta might have gone to Mālava in Cir. A.D. 585, probably after Sron-btsan's campaign. This Mālava contained the two important cities of Ujjain in the West and Vidiśā in the east. Ujjain was lost to the Kalacūris in Cir. A.D. 595-6. Mahāsenagupta ruled from Vidiśā until his death in Cir. A.D. 601.

(1) Fleet C.I.I.III

(2) See above p. 33.

Bāṇa's 'Mālava-Rajaputra' Kumāragupta is not mentioned in the genealogical list of the Later Guptas, but his younger brother, Mādhavagupta, is given his due place in the Aṃśa inscription of Ādityasena,⁽¹⁾ because Harṣa probably invested him with the governorship of Magadha in the latter part of his reign.⁽²⁾ Kumāragupta may have died earlier in Harṣa's reign. The description, in the Aṃśa inscription, of Mādhavagupta's career seems to offer an explanation of his leaving Mālava to join the court of Sthānviśvara. It is said of him, "When the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved.....[war?] was averted by him; people did obeisance.....'(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do,' - thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (and then) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva....."

Thus for nearly a half-century the Later Guptas were eclipsed by Harṣa's rise to power, until Ādityasena revived the fortunes of his house in Cir. A.D. 650, by establishing his hold over Magadha.

(1) C.I.I. III No. 42.

(2) See below p. 131.

The Maukharis seem to have been a very ancient tribe whose branches were spread over different parts of the country. Vāmana and Kaiyata, the famous expositors of the Pāṇinian system of grammar, writing in the middle ages, (1) explain the formation of certain words by citing the example 'Maukharyā'. They take this term to be a patronymic. Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, however, thinks that an ancestor of the tribe was honoured by the adjective 'Mukhara' for being a leader in war. His descendants came to be known Maukharis after him. (2) According to Bāṇa, too, 'Mukhara' was the progenitor of Grahavarman's line.

The first inscriptional evidence of the existence of the Maukharis is a clay-seal with the Prākṛit legend 'Mokhaṭīṇam' written in Mauryan Brāhmī characters. This seal was secured by Cunningham at Gayā and proves that the Maukharis were known in the third and fourth centuries B.C. (3) Three short inscriptions of the Maukharis discovered in the Kotah state by Dr. A. S. Altekar (4) yield the date 294 of the Kṛta era which, if taken to stand for the Mālava Samvat, would establish that the Maukharis were well-known in the middle of the third century A.D. Three more inscriptions

(1) Keith. Hist. of Sans.Lit.(1928) p.429 'Kaiyata's commentary on Mahābhāṣya may belong to the twelfth century A.D. though tradition places it earlier'. Vāmana composed his work before I-tsing visited India (A.D.671-695).

(2) Ep.Ind. XIV p.111

(3) C.I.I. III Intro. p.14.

(4) ~~Ep.Ind. XIV p.111~~ E.I.XXIII pp.42 ff;
E.I. XXIV pp.252 ff.

of the Maukharis, of a line of three kings - Yajñavarman, Sārdūlavarman and Anantavarman - have been found in the Barabar and Nāgārjunī hill caves near Gayā.⁽¹⁾ According to Indraji, Bühler, Kielhorn and N. G. Majumdar they should be placed in the period after the Guptas and before Harṣa. Pires, the enthusiastic biographer of the Maukharis, tries to interpret some very obscure references as pertaining to them. He has tried to identify the Koṭa family of the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta⁽²⁾ with the Magadhakula of Kaumudī Mahotsava,⁽³⁾ without much success.⁽⁴⁾ Bāṇa mentions a king named Kṣatravarman,⁽⁵⁾ whose identity cannot be established with any certainty. Pires has attempted to prove that he was the same as the Maukhari King defeated by the early Kadamba King Mayūrasarman of the Candravallī inscription,⁽⁶⁾ though the record in question does not contain any reference to Kṣatravarman. The inscription merely contains the word 'Mokari', with which it abruptly ends. B. A. Saletre⁽⁷⁾ notes

(1) Ibid Nos. 48-50.

(2) C.I.I. III No. 1.

(3) A play discovered by Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. The names of the Kings in question are Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman. Candāsena of the play has been identified by Jayaswal and Pires with Candra Gupta I, on very flimsy grounds. The play does not even contain a reference to either Koṭa or the Maukharis. Also see Infra p.

(4) pp. 25-40

(5) H.C.tr. p. 194.

(6) A.S.I.A.R. 1929 No. 1 pp. 50 ff.

(7) Indian and Iranian Studies (Bombay, 1939) pp. 307 ff.
The volume presented to Sir E. Denison Ross.

the existence of a Maukhari family in Kaṇṇāṭaka in the neighbourhood of Puṇaṭa. The mention of Puṇaṭa immediately before 'Mokari' in the Candravallī inscription further reduced the possibility of Kṣatravarman having any connection with this 'Mokari', because Bāṇa would have been very unlikely to refer to a South Indian King in his works. Kṣatravarman, if he was a Maukhari, probably belonged to the Koṭah line.

Another branch of the Maukharis, who rose to power in our period, is known from several seals and inscriptions. We obtain the following genealogy from the royal seals :

1. Mahārāja Harivarman - = Jayasvāminī
2. Mahārāja Ādityavarman = Harṣaguptā
3. Mahārāja Īśvaravarman = Upaguptā
4. Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman = Lakṣmīvati
5. Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman = Indrabhaṭṭārikā
6. Mahārājādhirāja Avantivarman
7. Mahārājādhirāja Grahavarman = Rājyaśrī

The Hārāhā inscription of Īśānavarman⁽¹⁾ records the name of Sūryavarman Maukhari, another son of Īśānavarman, and a Nālandā seal⁽²⁾ discloses a clearly inscribed 'Su', followed probably by 'va' or 'ca', as the first letter of the name of the son and successor of Avantivarman.

(1) Ep. Ind. XIV pp.110 ff.

(2) Ep. Ind. XXIV pp.284-5.

The first three kings of the line are given the simple titles of 'Mahārāja'. Like their contemporaries, the Later Guptas, the Maukharis also, doubtless served as feudatories to the Imperial Guptas. The close resemblance between the names of the second Maukhari queen and the second Later Gupta King suggests that they were brother and sister, and that the two rising families, at this early stage of their history, were so friendly as to arrange a matrimonial alliance. The third King Īśvaravarman's Jaunpur inscription⁽¹⁾ refers to his conflict with the Āndhras, but this battle does not seem to have borne any significant result in favour of the Maukhari, as he did not introduce any change in his title. His son, Īśānavarman's career, however, was long and eventful. The Harāhā inscription records that Īśānavarman defeated 'the Lord of the Āndhras' and 'the Śūlikas' and also 'caused the Gaudas to remain within their proper realm. The chastisement of the Gaudas may have been Īśānavarman's first military achievement, and it was probably this battle which brought him into conflict with the Later Gupta King Kumāragupta who not only was settled in the neighbourhood of Gauda, as against the Maukhari of the Upper Gangetic Doab, but whose predecessor also had attempted to subjugate the kingdom of the Gaudas. Īśānavarman was defeated by Kumāragupta, but

(1) C.I.I.III No. 51.

he does not seem to have suffered any serious loss.⁽¹⁾ As is evident from his Harāhā inscription, he added considerably to the family's prestige if not to its possessions, and earned for himself the grander title of Mahārājādhirāja. The 'Lord of the Āndhras' defeated by Īśānavarman was probably King Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin dynasty.⁽²⁾ The identity of the Śūlikas is more difficult to establish. They have been variously identified with the Mūlakas,⁽³⁾ the Colas,⁽⁴⁾ the neighbours of the Āndhras⁽⁵⁾ and the dwellers on the south-east coast along Kalinga Vidarbha and Cedi.⁽⁶⁾ Raychaudhuri's identification of the Śūlikas with the Cālukyas seems to be the most probable.⁽⁷⁾ Śūlika may be another dialectic variant, since in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription the name appears as Cālikya, and in the Gujarāt records we find the forms Solaki and Solankī'.⁽⁸⁾ Battles against these distant powers are, however, not likely to have added to the territory of the Maukharis.

Īśānavarman's son Sūryavarman, known to us from the Harāhā inscription, does not seem to have come to the throne and may have predeceased his father. His name is not mentioned in the Asirgarh⁽⁹⁾ or Nālandā seals⁽¹⁰⁾ of the family which place

(1) See above pp 30-1

(2) Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I. (4th ed.) p.509

(3) Aravamuthan p.98

(4) Heras, J.A.H.R.S. Vol.I, pp.130-3

(5) S.K.Sastri J.A.H.R.S. Vol.II, p.180.

(6) Hirananda Sastri E.I. XIV pp.110 ff.

(7) P.H.A.I. p.509

(8) Bom. Gaz. Vol.I, pt.I, p.156.

(9) C.I.I. III No.47

(10) Ep. Ind. XXI pp.73 ff and XXIV pp.283 ff.

Śarvavarman's name after that of Īśānavarman. A Sūryavarman is described in the Sirpur Stone Inscription⁽¹⁾ of his daughter's son Mahāśivagupta as 'born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha'. The editor of this inscription, Rai Bahādur Hīrā Lāl, ascribes the characters to the 8th or 9th Century A.D. But palaeography does not always guide us to the right conclusions.⁽²⁾ On examination, the characters of this inscription reveal a close similarity to those of the Seventh Century inscriptions and Shri Hīrā Lāl may be wrong in his opinion on the date of inscription. The Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription may well be the same as the royal prince of the Harāhā inscription. The Mallar Plates⁽³⁾ of Mahāśivagupta were inscribed at the request of his maternal uncle, Bhāskaravarman, who apparently was the son of Sūryavarman. His claim to the throne of Maukharis seems to have been over-ridden by his cousin Avantivarman, the son of Śarvavarman.

Īśānavarman was succeeded by his son, Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śarvarman. He was the contemporary of the Later Gupta King, Mahāsenagupta, from whose side fortune fled after his initial victories. After the Tibetan and Cālukya raids on Magadha which made Mahāsenagupta flee to Mālava, Śarvavarman seems to have made the best of the opportunity.

(1) Ep. Ind. XI pp.184 ff.

(2) c.f. Fleet C.I.I.III pp.235 & 245; Pravarasena's inscription was first assigned to 8th century A.D. A correction was made later and the record was stated to belong to the 5th century A.D.

(3) Ep. Ind. XI pp.184 ff.

He annexed Magadha to his hereditary kingdom, whose capital was Kanauj, and firmly established Maukhari supremacy in the Madhya-Deśa. The Deo Barnārk inscription and the Nālandā seal of Śārvavarman refer to him with full imperial titles. He also issued coins.

A seal of Śārvavarman has been found at Asirgarh, but it seems most unlikely that his authority extended as far as modern Burhanpur. The wars against the Āndhras and Śūlikas seem to have been defensive battles,⁽¹⁾ which did not increase the territory of the Maukharis. Moreover, Sūryavarman, who was probably the elder brother of Śārvavarman, was connected with the royal house of Mahākośala.⁽²⁾ His and his son's claim to the throne of Kanauj seems to have been over-riden by Śārvavarman and his son Avantivarman. Any addition of territory in the Nimad district would have meant passing through the hilly region that lay between the two unfriendly kingdoms of Mahākośala and Mālava. Śārvavarman would not be inclined to take this risk. Fleet's remark,⁽³⁾ that the seal was found at Asirgarh, which formerly belonged to Mahārājā Scindia, in a box containing his property raises further doubts in our mind as to whether the seal was originally found at Asirgarh or was picked up by the

(1) The Andhra King Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty who 'crossed the river Godavari with the desire to conquer the Eastern region'. J. Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 92.

(2) E.I. XI, p. 184, ff.

(3) C.I.I. III p. 219.

Mahārājā at some other place and added to his valuable possessions. Fleet also states that the published accounts do not make it clear whether the original was ever found or only the impressions of it. In any case, the portable nature of the seals easily raises the possibility of this seal having been carried away from the place where it was issued. Śarvavarman's kingdom may have extended up to the northern fringe of the Vindhyas, whence this seal may have travelled to Nimād. The Barāha copper plate of Bhojadeva dated A.D. 835-6⁽¹⁾ records that a Paramēśvara Śarvavarman^ādeva granted some land in the Udumbara viṣaya of Kālinjara-maṇḍala. We find it difficult to accept any of the identifications of Śarvavarman proposed so far. The names of lesser kings, like Mārā-śarva⁽²⁾ and Mahārāja Śarva⁽³⁾ have been proposed respectively by Bhandarkar⁽⁴⁾ and Dr. Hiranand Sastri⁽⁵⁾ but these kings are not likely to have possessed the high-sounding title of Paramēśvara, mentioned in the Barāha inscription. Śarvavarman Maukhari, however, has been given that title in the Deo-Barnark inscription, which makes us inclined to identify him with the King of that name in the Barāha inscription.⁽⁶⁾ The question, however, is still highly controversial.

(1) Ep. Ind. XIX p.15 ff.

(4) Ep. Ind. XVII, p.235 ff.

(2) Ep. Ind. VI, p.250

(5) Ep. Ind. XIX, p.15 ff.

(3) Ep. Ind. XVII, p.235 ff.

(6) Sinha pp.199-200 agrees with this identification.

Yet another inscription found outside U.P. mentions the name 'Śarvavarman'. We refer to the Nirmaṇḍ inscription of Mahārāja Samudrasena who renewed some grants which had previously been made by 'Mahārāja Śarvavarman'.⁽¹⁾ Nirmaṇḍ is situated in the north of Sthānviśvara, in the Kangra district of the Panjab. The script belongs to the seventh century. Dāmodaragupta's Maukhari adversary who is said to have fought the Hunas may well have been Śarvavarman. Harṣacarita testifies to the disturbing activities of the Hunas at this time. The Vardhana house was not very strong at this stage, and Ādityavardhana, who enjoyed only the simple title of Mahārāja, could not have chastised the Hunas with his limited resources. The task of curbing this active foreign tribe was therefore left to the Maukharis, whose power was in the ascendant at this time. Ādityavardhana, as an inferior power, may have willingly allowed Śarvavarman to pass through his territory to fight the Hunas, who were in fact a greater danger to his own small kingdom than to the Maukharis of the Gangetic Doab. Ādityavardhana might even have given some military help to Śarvavarman. The Maukharis, however, do not seem to have used the occasion to humiliate the Vardhanas, because none of their inscriptions which narrate other achievements of Śarvavarman allude even to a nominal lordship over the Vardhanas. Perhaps the matrimonial

(1) C.I.I. III No.80.

alliance between the Later Guptas and the Vardhanas had placed them in a bargaining position with the Maukharis, who did not wish to loose their goodwill. Moreover, it was wise to have friends in the neighbours of the Hunas, because the latter could have played off the Vardhanas against the Maukharis.

The simple title of 'Mahārāja' for Śarvavarman in the Nirmand Inscription may raise doubts as to whether it was intended for the Maukhari. But we should remember that even Kumāragupta I has been given this title in some of the Imperial Gupta inscriptions.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, we cannot place the rule of any other king in that region at that time,

Śarvavarman was succeeded on the throne by Avantivarman. Their relationship of father and son has now been definitely established on the basis of the Nālandā seal of the latter.⁽²⁾ Avantivarman inherited the extensive domain of his father and enjoyed full imperial titles.⁽³⁾ His coins are more numerous than those of his predecessors.⁽⁴⁾ The readings of the dates on all the Maukhari coins are, however, very doubtful, and it will not be safe to depend on them for fixing the chronology of the Maukharis.⁽⁵⁾

Avantivarman seems to have been an unambitious ruler who had an uneventful reign, but a peaceful career did not in any way

(1) C.I.I. III p.46 ff.

(2) E.I. XXIV p.283 ff.

(3) ~~J.R.A.S. 1906 Part II, p.843~~ Ibid & C.I.I. III No.46

(4) J.R.A.S. 1906 Part II, p.843

(5) See below p.61.

lessen the prestige of his royal house, at least in his lifetime. The references to Grahavarman's family in the Harṣacarita show that the Maukharis were held in high esteem even by Prabhākaravardhana, who had considerably increased his power and enhanced the status of his dynasty during the peaceful reign of his important contemporary, Avantivarman. In Bāṇa's words, Prabhākaravardhana said to his queen "...now at the head of all royal houses stand the Maukharis, worshipped like Śiva's footprint by all the world".⁽¹⁾ In the 'Kādambarī', Bāṇa represents his 'guru' Bhatsu or Bharva as being 'honoured by crowned Maukharis'.⁽²⁾ Avantivarman may have died in cir.A.D.600. R. C. Majumdar⁽³⁾ fixes the following dates for the reigns of Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman on the basis of Dikshit's reading of the coins -

Īśānavarman...	C. A.D. 550-576
Śarvavarman ...	C. A.D. 576-580
Avantivarman ..	C. A.D. 580-600

The space of time allowed for the rule of Śarvavarman according to this table seems to us to be too short, especially as he has left several coins as well as seals and inscriptions. We would rather suggest the following probable dates -

Īśānavarman ..	cir.A.D.550-560-5
Śarvavarman ..	cir. A.D.560-5-585
Avantivarman .	cir.A.D.585-600

(1) H.C. Trans. p.122

(2) Kādambarī, Trans. by Ridding, p.1.

(3) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.70.

Īśānavarman's Haraha inscription⁽¹⁾ is dated A.D. 554. His victories referred to in this record probably took place before he was defeated by Kumāragupta⁽²⁾ because he is referred to in the Aphsad inscription as the 'glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings'.⁽³⁾ That the battle between these two kings took place after A.D. 554, the date of the Harāhā inscription, is also suggested by the absence of even a remote allusion to this event in the Maukhari record.

Śarvavarman, who definitely extended the Maukhari dominion perhaps in three directions,⁽⁴⁾ must have enjoyed a long reign. His several coins, his Asirgarh seal and references to him in the inscriptions of other kings, all point to an eventful and long career. We, therefore, allot to him a period of 20 - 25 years rule.

Avantivarman, who might have succeeded to the throne in his middle age and who was the contemporary of Prabhāk-aravardhana and Mahāsenagupta, may be allowed a comparatively short reign of approximately fifteen years. We believe that his rule ended in Circa A.D. 600, because Bāṇa tells us that his eldest son Grahavarman himself sought the hand of Rājyaśrī in marriage, which event took place in Cir. A.D. 603-4.⁽⁵⁾ Avantivarman, if he had been alive, would

(1) E. I. XIV p. 110 ff.

(2) C. I. I. III No. 42.

(3) Ibid.

(4) See above pp. 37

(5) Rājyaśrī, born in A.D. 592. 'In a comparatively limited period she came to maturity'. Bāṇa, H. C. Trans. p. 121

certainly have been referred to by Bāṇa in his long description of this important wedding.

Thus at Kanauj Avantivarman Maukhari was succeeded by his son Grahavarman. Until the time of his father's death, Magadha as well as Kanauj seem to have been ruled by the same Maukhari King, since Avantivarman's seal has been found at Nālandā, but some changes seem to have taken place on Avantivarman's death. Another Maukhari seal found at Nalanda gives the name of 'Para.....rājā (dhi) rājā Śrī Suva (or Suca)' as the son of 'Paramamāheśvara (Mahārā) jādhirāja Avantivarman Maukhari'.⁽¹⁾ That Grahavarman ruled from Kanauj until his untimely death is evident from Bāṇa's account, according to which Rājyaśrī was imprisoned at Kānyakubja.

The changes that took place on Avantivarman's death do not seem to have been the result of a friendly understanding between the two brothers, Grahavarman and 'Suva'. We may suggest that the latter was a rebel, for if this had not been the case, 'Suva', who may be the Suvrata of the Ārya Manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa,⁽²⁾ would have had his inscription so phrased as to include the name of his elder brother. It is probable that 'Suva' had been appointed the governor of Magadha by his father, on whose death he declared independence. The division of the ancestral domains at this

(1) E.I.XXIV p.283 ff.

(2) I.H.I. p.52 ff.

juncture was fatal, for the Maukhari power. The new dynasties that had fed themselves on the remains of the Imperial Guptas had now firm hold over territories in different parts of the north, and the time was once again ripe for a strong and capable person to establish his paramountcy.

'Suva' seems to have predeceased his brother Grahavarman, since this one seal is the only record we have of him and this fact indicates that he enjoyed power for only a brief period. It seems that his kingdom of Magadha never again formed part of the Maukhari dominion. A seal-matrix of Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅka discovered cut in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh (1) testifies to his hold over Magadha even before he assumed independent status. That he had attained that status before A.D. 605-606, the date of Prabhākaravardhana's death, is evident from the account of Bāṇa.

In the west of India, the King of Mālava, probably a scion of the Later Gupta dynasty, seems to have been making plans for reviving the fortunes of his family.

Soon after the marriage of Rājyaśrī to Grahavarman, the old King Prabhākaravardhana sent his son Rājyavardhana, accompanied by Harṣa, to chastise the Hūṇas. It was probably at this time that the Kings of Mālava and Gauda conducted

(1) C.I.I. III No. 78.

negotiations for a treaty, their aim being to attack in turn the Kingdoms of Kanauj and Sthānviśvara with their combined forces.⁽¹⁾ Apparently their ambition was to divide the whole of northern India between themselves. Prabhākaravardhana's illness and death provided them with the right opportunity for striking the blow, and we learn from the Harṣacarita that while the two brothers, Rājyavardhana and Harṣa each argued about abandoning the throne in favour of the other, the news was brought that "His Majesty Grahavarman was, by the wicked lord of Mālava, cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also,had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters....and cast into prison at Kānya-kubja. There is, moreover, a report that the villain proposes to invade and seize this country as well",⁽²⁾ Thus, in a tragedy ended the short career of the last of the Maukharis.

Rājyavardhana set out with an army to punish the King of Mālava, whose troops he is said to have 'routed with ridiculous ease'.⁽³⁾ But his own career was to be cut short by death at the hands of Śaśaṅka, the ally of the King of Mālava. Śaśaṅka had the makings of a paramount King, but Harṣa, though young in

(1) H.C. Trans. p.173. "My Lord, it is the way of the vile...to strike where they find an opening. So, on the very day on which the King's (Prabhākaravardhana's) death was rumoured... Grahavarman was...cut off from the living....There is moreover a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and sieze this country (Sthānviśvara) as well...."

(2) H.C. Trans. p.173

(3) H.C. Trans. p.178.

years, handled the situation in a masterly way. His possession of Kanauj and the alliance with the King of Kāmarūpa obliged Śaśāṅka to confine himself to the territories he had already occupied before Harṣa came on the scene. In the next section we deal with the rise and extent of power of this enemy of Harṣa.

Name of King	Rapson	Cunningham	Smith	Fleet	Burn	Brown	Dikshit
	Indian Coins p.27	A.S.I.R. IX p.27, XVI p.81	J.A.S.B. IX 1894, pp.193-4	Ind. Ant. XIV p.68	J.R.A.S. 1906 Part II p.843 ff	Catalogue of the coins of the Guptas and the Maukhar- is etc. in the Provin- cial Museum, Lucknow 1920, ff. p.29, ff.	as cited in Aravamuthan pp.102 ff.
Isānavarman	54, 55	55? or 155 or 257	54	40, 60, 70 or 5	4x?	4x x x 5?	245, 257 54, 55, 57
Śarvavarman			58		234? 23x?	(2)34 (2)3x	258, 259, 25x, 58
Avantivarman					250; 57? or 67? 71	250, -57, -70	260, 26x, 67, 71.

Note - N. G. Majumdar (I.A. XLVI p.125 ff.) writes 'The date-marks on the coins of Śarvavarman have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at what particular dates these coins were issued.'

Bengal and Śaśāṅka

The Kingdom of Gopacandra, Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva, which loosely comprised southern and eastern Bengal, may be called Vaṅga, though the old name Samatata for eastern Bengal was also in use in our period, as may be seen from Hsüan-tsang's records. (1) Northern and Western Bengal came to be known as Gauda in our period (2) and gained special importance with the rise of Śaśāṅka. The boundaries of the two kingdoms were, however, not strictly demarcated and varied at different times. (3)

Śaśāṅka started his career as a Mahāsāmanta, as is evident from his seal-matrix cut in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh in West Bihar. (4) It is not easy to identify his overlord and scholars have put forth widely different views on the subject. Some, on the sole testimony of the variant Narendragupta for Śaśāṅka in one manuscript of the Harṣacarita, (5) have tried to establish that Śaśāṅka was a scion of the Imperial Gupta, or the Later Gupta dynasty. (6) That Śaśāṅka was also known by the name of Narendragupta is based on very insufficient data: in any case a similar name-ending is by no means a

(1) Beal II p.199

(2) The first clear epigraphic mention of the Gaudas is made in the Harāhā inscription of Iśānavarman (E.I.XIV p.110 ff.)

(3) Thus, when Jīvitagupta and Iśānavarman fought the Gaudas and drove them towards the sea, the latter may have been living in southern Bengal. (C.I.I. III No.42 & E.I.XIV p.110 ff) also see D.C. Sircar's article on Gauda in the J.H.O. Vol. ff XXVIII p.123

(4) C.I.I. III No.78

(5) Bühler Ep. Ind. I. p.70

(6) Banerji, Hist. of Orissa Vol.I p.129 '...he belonged to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha'. & Vidyavinodā, Kāmarūpa, Śāsanāval (Intro.) p.85. '...he was the son of Mahāsenagupta'.

reliable proof for determining connection between two families.

(1) Sinha puts forth the view that Śaśāṅka was the feudatory of Jayanāga because both are associated with Karnaśuvārṇa, the former through his Vappaghoṣavāta Grant, and the latter on the basis of Hsüan-tsang's account. He also points out certain similarities between the coins of the two, and concludes: 'It appears to be very plausible that Śaśāṅka was appointed Mahāsāmanta by Jayanāga who extended his territory over Magadha'. We shall later discuss the chronology of the rulers of Bengal in more detail, and attempt to show that Śaśāṅka was preceded by Jayanāga and Samācāradeva. There is, however, no reliable evidence to connect Jayanāga with Magadha, as suggested by Sinha. (2) Śaśāṅka may well have ruled over Jayanāga's kingdom in Bengal, but this does not prove that the territory he governed as a Mahāsāmanta during Jayanāga's lifetime was under the suzerainty of the latter.

(3) Barua and R. C. Majumdar (4) express the opinion that Śaśāṅka began his career as a feudatory of Mahāsenagupta. It is true that Mahāsenagupta at one time held sway over Bihar and Bengal, but his successes were soon cut short by outside invaders and by his old enemies, the Maukharis. (5) He had

(1) pp.222 & 233

(2) The discovery of a solitary coin-mould of 'Jaya' at Nālandā (AS.I.A.R. 1935-36 p.52) is very flimsy evidence to prove Jaya's hold over Magadha. No argument may be safely built up on the basis of such easily portable remains.

(3) Early History of Kāmarūpa pp.58-59

(4) History of Bengal p.56

(5) See above p. 37

to retire to Mālava in cir.A.D.586-590. Thereafter Magadha formed a part of the dominion of Avantivarman Maukhari, who, it seems, appointed his son 'Suva' to govern this province of the empire. Suva could not have issued his Nālandā seal with imperial titles⁽¹⁾ until after the death of his father, which took place in c.A.D.600. Thus we see that the territory west of Nālandā was under the hold of the Maukharis from cir.A.D.590 to cir.A.D.602-3. The fort of Rohtasgarh where Śaśāṅka's seal-matrix has been discovered lies to the south-west of Nālandā. This would lead to the conclusion that Śaśāṅka, if he was a feudatory of Mahāsenagupta, also served the Maukharis as a vassal; but it is hard to believe that the latter would have allowed a feudal chief of their arch-enemies to continue to enjoy such power during their dominance over Magadha.

According to Sen, 'Śaśāṅka began his career as a Mahāsāmanta in Magadha.....probably under Avantivarman... In this capacity he may have exercised some kind of control over the Varmans of Gayā. After the defeat of Avantivarman by the Cālukyas, he made himself master of Magadha....and swooped down⁽²⁾ upon Puṇḍravardhana immediately after the death of Mahāsenagupta.' Ganguli expresses the view that 'Śaśāṅka was a high feudatory of Magadha under the Maukhari King Avantivarman and Grahavarman, and later on he conquered Magadha and invaded Gauda, and therefore he was a native of Magadha and a successful conqueror

(1) E.I.XXIV p.283 ff.

(2) Some historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal p.261.

of Gauda.' (1)

We agree with the opinion of these scholars inasmuch as they place Śaśāṅka's feudal career in the reign of Avantivarman Maukhari, and ascribe to him first the conquest of Magadha and then that of Gauda, but we differ from them on the circumstances under which Śaśāṅka's power began and spread. We have already given an account of Mahāsenagupta's reign, showing that his suzerainty over Magadha probably ended because of the invasion of the Cālukyas (2) and therefore we shall make no further comments on Sen's statement. As against Ganguli's view that Śaśāṅka was a native of Magadha, we hold the opinion that he was of Gauda origin. We shall give our reasons (3) for this in the course of our account of Śaśāṅka's rapid rise to power.

It seems to us that Śaśāṅka of Gauda, (4) an able and ambitious man, left home in search of fortune sometime in cir.A.D. 585-590, and, during the reign of Avantivarman Maukhari, while 'Suva' was governing Magadha, achieved the status of Mahāsāmanta. On the death of Avantivarman, when both Grahavarman and 'Suva' claimed imperial status, the Maukhari dominion were split into two parts; Śaśāṅka's feudal territory fell in 'Suva's' circle of influence and fortunately for the former the latter's independent career proved to be very brief. This event seems to

(1) I.H.Q. XII p.456 ff.

(2) See above pp 36-7

(3) See below p. 67

(4) See below p.

have provided the ambitious Gauda with a long-awaited opportunity and we believe that the sack of the Buddhist monasteries by Śaśāṅka referred to by Hsüan-tsang⁽¹⁾ took place during this period. The Bodhisattva, advising Harṣa to accept the throne of Kanauj, addressed him thus: '...The law of the Buddha having been destroyed by the King of Karnaśuvārṇa you, when you become king should revive it.'⁽²⁾ Here Hsüan-tsang implies his belief that Śaśāṅka had already become known for his acts of oppression against Buddhism before A.D. 606. His primary aim, however, in over-running the country must have been to capture territory, but the Buddhist monasteries being rich and his own faith being Saivism the practical-minded conqueror pillaged what brought him profit. From Hsüan-tsang's account we learn that Śaśāṅka had gained the notoriety of being a persecutor of Buddhism before A.D. 606, the date of Harṣa's succession.⁽³⁾ Thus we reach the conclusion that Śaśāṅka over-ran the whole of Magadha, from Rohtasgarh⁽⁴⁾ to Banaras,⁽⁵⁾ from Banaras to Gayā⁽⁶⁾ and Pāṭaliputra⁽⁷⁾ and thence to Kuśīnagara⁽⁸⁾ after the death of Suva, during the reign of Grahavarman Maukhari.

(1) Beal II p. 118

(2) Translated from the original by the kindness of Mr. D. C. Lau.

(3) See below p. Beal I. p. 212.

(4) C.I.I. III No. 78

(5) The M.M.K. verse 715

(6) Beal II p. 118

(7) Beal II p. 91

(8) Beal II p. 42.

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It was probably this great danger which made Grahavarman seek a matrimonial alliance with the Vardhanas. Śaśāṅka, who seems to have been provided with yet another remarkable opportunity at this time. Jayanāga of Karnaśuvāṇa⁽¹⁾ probably died at this time and Śaśāṅka, originally a Gauda, set himself up as the claimant to the vacant throne. His mastery already established over the important province of Magadha, Śaśāṅka may have occupied Bengal without much difficulty. Several circumstances, which we shall discuss later, point to Jayanāga's succession by Śaśāṅka. Jayanāga's death must have occurred in cir. A.D. 602-3, because by A.D. 606, Śaśāṅka had already become firmly established on the throne of Gauda. This may be supported by references in the Harṣacarita and the Manjusrī-Mūlakalpa. The latter work gives an account of Śaśāṅka's reign followed by that of Rājyavardhana's short career. It is stated about Rājyavardhana that he was 'as powerful as Soma'⁽²⁾ which shows that Śaśāṅka had attained high status before A.D. 606. Bāṇa, in his description of the approaching night, while the two brothers were still in mourning after their father's death, writes 'In the firmament the rising clear-flecked moon shone like the pointed hump of Śiva's tame bull, when blotted with mud scattered by his broad horns.'⁽³⁾ In Bāṇa typical manner this seems to be an allusion

(1) Ep. Ind. XVIII p. 60 ff.

(2) The M.M.K. verse 720. Soma, a synonym of Śaśāṅka, must be the same King. Rājyavardhana is referred to as Ra, and Harṣa as Ha. There can be little doubt as to the identification.

(3) H. C. trans. p. 168.

to Śaśāṅka's rise to power. The significance of the statement lies in the fact that it occurs in the section just preceding Rājyavardhana's taking up of arms against the enemies of Sthānviśvara.

The fact that Śaśāṅka is repeatedly referred to as a Gauda or as a king of Gauda, or of cities thereof, strongly suggests that he was of Gauda origin, because even though he held the most prized and famous kingdom of Magadha for some time, he is not once referred to as the King of Magadha. Harṣa, though he was famous as the King of Kanauj, is mentioned as the King of Magadha in the Chinese records,⁽¹⁾ because of his suzerainty over that traditionally royal province. After the loss of Magadha, Śaśāṅka was to all intents and purposes 'the King of Gauda', and the author of the M. M. K. could honestly state that '.....Harṣa defeated Soma, who was forbidden to move out of his country (Svadeśa).⁽²⁾ Śaśāṅka ruled in and from Gauda until at least cir. A.D. 619-20.⁽³⁾

It will be well to discuss here briefly the chronology of the Bengal rulers from Samācāradeva to Śaśāṅka. Earlier we referred to the rise of the dynasty of Gopacandra in cir. A.D. 525, when the power of the Imperial Guptas was declining. The second ruler of this line was Dharmāditya, who was succeeded

(1) See below page 342.

(2) The M. M. K. Verse 725

(3) On the basis of the Ganjam Plates of Mādhavaraja II. E.I.VI p.143 ff.

by Samācāradeva. The latter issued gold coins, one type of which resembles that of the Gupta emperors. One archer type coin of Samācāradeva has, however, a bull standard on the reverse. It is described as follows: Archer type, weight 148.2 grains, obverse, the King standing on left, holding bow in left-hand and arrow in the right. Bull (Nandī) on left, beneath left arm 'Shaha (?) cha', no trace of marginal legend; reverse, Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand and fillet in outstretched right hand, symbol (?) on left Śrī Narendrāditya.

With this we may compare the coins, found in Bengal, of 'Jaya', who may be identified with the Mahārājādhirāja (2) 'Jayanāga' of the Vappaghoṣavāṭa Grant issued from Karnasuvarna. (3) The M. M. K. mentions Jaya's name in connection with Gauda. 'Jaya's' coins are described thus: Archer type, on the obverse, King, nimbate, standing left, holding bow in left hand, arrow in the right. Cakra standard left, beneath left arm 'Jaya'. No trace of marginal legend. On the reverse- the goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in the left hand and fillet in outstretched right hand; above on left, an elephant sprinkling her and the legend (Śrī Prakāṇḍ- (1) ayaśāh'. The design of an elephant or possibly two elephants

(1) I. H. I. Trans. p.66.

(2) Barnett (E.I.XVIII p.62) writes: '...Mr. John Allan has suggested to me that he (Jayanāga of the Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant) may be same as the King whose coins, described in his C.C.G.D.B.M. pp.150-1 bear on the obverse, the abbreviated name 'Jaya' and on the reverse a seated Lakṣmī with an elephant sprinkling her. This connection seems highly probable.

(3) The M.M.K. Trans. p.66.

sprinkling water on the goddess Lakṣmī is also faintly visible on the seal of the Vappaghoṣavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga.

A description of one of Śaśāṅka's coins may also be noted here, in order to compare the three types of coins of three probably successive rulers, who held sway over a province that originally belonged to the Imperial Guptas.

Śaśāṅka's coins are described as follows: weight 145-6 grains, obverse, Śiva, nimbate, reclining to left on bull (Nandī) to left, with left hand uplifted, holding uncertain object; moon above on left, on right Śrī Śa, below Jaya; reverse goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on Lotus, holding lotus in left hand which rests on knee, and with outstretched right hand empty; above on either side elephant sprinkling water over her (abhiṣeka) no symbol; on right Śrī Śaśāṅkaḥ.

The only difference between the coins of Samācāradeva Narendrāditya and 'Jaya' Prakāṇḍayaśāḥ is that the former has the the sign of the Nandī on his coin, while the latter has a Cakra standard. The coins of Samācāradeva are believed to be earlier in time than those of Jaya.

The reverses of the coins of Jaya and Śaśāṅka are very similar, but on the obverse Śaśāṅka's coins are characterised by the signs of the bull and the moon, the signs used by Bāṇa also whenever he metaphorically refers to Śaśāṅka in the Harṣacarita. (1)

(1) H. C. Trans. pp.168, 260.

The fact that Gopacandra came to power in Bengal when the hold of the Imperial Guptas was getting weaker is accepted by all scholars. It is also generally accepted that Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva were the next two rulers of Bengal, and that the rule of these three kings probably lasted from cir.A.D.525-575.

We believe that Jayanāga was the next great ruler of Bengal. He is given the title of Mahārājādhirāja in the Vappaghoṣavāṭa Grant, which also establishes that Karnasuvārṇa was a part of his territory. The M. M. K. refers to Jayanāga as a ruler of the Gauda nation, who also made conquests in the south-east. During the reigns of Jīvitagupta and Īśānavarman the Gaudas may have occupied south-western Bengal, but with the lapse of time they may have spread to other parts of Bengal, for no foreign power had invaded their country since the time of Īśānavarman. During the earlier part of Jaya's reign, eastern Bengal may have been ruled by kings whose gold coins of that period have been found in different parts of this region. Two, whose names can be read with some certainty, are Prthuvīra and Sudhanyāditya.⁽¹⁾ Jayanāga's conquests in the south may have secured for him the territory ruled by Samācāradeva. The close similarity between the coins of these two kings definitely suggests some connection between them. In the east Jayanāga may have come into conflict with one of the rulers whose coins have been discovered there.

(1) Sudh. 's coin is No. 620 of Allan's C.C.G.D.B.M. For Prth. see Allan, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1934, p. 235. The coins of these two kings have been discussed by S. K. Chakravorty in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, p. 408.

There is evidence to suggest that Jayanāga extended his influence to Kāmarūpa also. The newly discovered Doobi plates⁽¹⁾ record the great heroism of the two young Kāmarūpa princes, Supratisthitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, in a battle against the Gaudas who attacked their country soon after their father Susthitavarman's death. According to P. D. Chaudhuri,⁽²⁾ who first published the record, the text of the fifth plate implies that the brothers succeeded in repulsing the Gauda army but D. C. Sircar⁽³⁾ has rightly interpreted it to mean that "Supra-tisthita and Bhāskara, despite their resistance, were captured by the enemy and carried to Gauda but later, because of their good qualities, succeeded in getting back to their kingdom."⁽⁴⁾ We may thus take this record to convey that the Kāmarūpa princes were captured by the Gaudas, but later re-instated in their paternal kingdom.

Majumdar⁽⁵⁾ and P. C. Chaudhuri⁽⁶⁾ hold the view that the Gauda army of the Doobi inscription was led by Mahāsenagupta⁽⁷⁾ 'who was regarded as King of Gauda rather than that of Malava'. According to B. P. Sinha⁽⁸⁾ the reference is to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Śaśāṅka 'who would naturally have tried to emulate his distinguished predecessor Mahāsenagupta in attempting to

(1) J.A.R.S. XII Nos.1-2 p.16 ff.

(2) Ibid

(3) I.H.Q. XXVI p.241 ff.

(4) Lines 8-10; also op.cit. p.245 fn.20.

(5) H.C.I.P. Vol.III pp.76 and 92

(6) Ph.D. Thesis 1953 p.266 ff.

(7) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.76

(8) p.243.

make his weight felt in Kāmarūpa'. We believe that the Gauda exploit of the Doobi Grant is to be connected neither with Mahāsenagupta nor with Śaśāṅka, but with Jayanāga, who held power during the period between the rule of these two kings over Bengal.

Mahāsenagupta, who had won a renowned victory over Susthitavarman, would not have felt the need of attacking Kāmarūpa again immediately after his adversary's death. We have also seen that he had to contend with invaders of his own kingdom soon after his early successes; therefore he could hardly have had time for leading further campaigns. Moreover, if we accept that Mahāsenagupta attacked Kāmarūpa a second time, we have every reason to expect a reference to this victory also in the Apsad inscription of his descendant, which commemorates his success against Susthitavarman.

The fact that Kāmarūpa is said to have been invaded by a Gauda army, does not discourage Majumdar from identifying the leader of this army with Mahāsenagupta. According to him 'Mahāsenagupta was regarded as King of Gauda rather than that of Mālava, because Śaśāṅka who inherited the latter's kingdom of Magadha and Bengal is also called a Gauda'.⁽¹⁾ This is indeed weak reasoning. Śaśāṅka is pronounced Gauda, or King of Gauda, in all references to him in various contemporary works, no doubt because he was a native of and later a ruler

(1) H.C.I.P. Vol. III p.76.

of Gauda. There is no evidence in the Doobi inscription to suggest that the Gauda invader was Mahāsenagupta. Had he been the enemy, he would no doubt have been referred to as the King of Magadha, not only because supremacy over that province was made much of by all her conquerors, especially in this period, (1) but also because defeat by a great king was a matter for less shame than defeat by a comparatively lesser king.

Sinha's opinion that Śaśāṅka invaded Kāmarūpa does not seem to be correct; because the raid referred to in the Doobi grant took place much earlier than Śaśāṅka's hold over Bengal, which we may safely presume was necessary for invading Kāmarūpa. The text of the fifth plate shows that the battle took place soon after Susthitavarman's death, which we place between A.D. 590-595. We have earlier shown that Mahāsenagupta's rule in Magadha was over by that date, that the province was now under the supremacy of the Maukharis and that Śaśāṅka was governing the modern Rohtasgarh district as a feudatory of the latter. Śaśāṅka's independent career did not begin until C. A.D. 603 after the death of his overlord 'Suva', when the former over-ran Magadha and then took possession of Gauda after Jayanāga's death. His invasion of Kāmarūpa, thus, could not have taken place before c. A.D. 604-5 while the battle recorded in the Doobi inscription must have taken place before the beginning of the seventh century when 'Jaya' was in power in Bengal.

(1) Note references to the Maukharis 'great because of their supremacy over Magadha', Sirpur Stone Inscription (E.I. XI p.184 ff).

If Śaśāṅka had won an early victory over Bhāskaravarman, the event would almost certainly have been alluded to by Bāṇa. The M. M. K. also, though it speaks of Śaśāṅka's extension of power as far as Banaras, does not refer to his influence in Kāmarūpa.

By this process of elimination we reach the conclusion that the leader of the Gauda army which defeated and captured the two Kāmarūpa princes was no other than Jayanāga. As a not very important ruler of south-western Bengal, Jaya may have nourished the ambition of achieving greatness on the end of the foreigner Mahāsenagupta's hold over his country. A sudden check on the latter's brief successful career provided Jayanāga with an opportunity. He seems to have made immediate use of it by over-running northern Bengal, and then invading Kāmarūpa, which was weak after the death of her suzerain. The Doobi plates testify his victory over the young princes, who were apparently given back their kingdom to be ruled as a feudatory state. Supraṭiṣṭhitavarman had a very brief career and was succeeded by Bhāskaravarman. The latter seems to have assumed independent status during the period of anarchy that may have followed Jaya's death, before Śaśāṅka took charge of the situation.

R. C. Majumdar, (1) Saletore (2) and Bhattasali (3) express the view that Jayanāga followed Śaśāṅka. One basis for their

(1) History of Bengal Vol. I. p. 56

(2) Life in the Gupta Age p. 71

(3) J.A.S.B. (N.S.) XXI Num. Supp. p. n. 6 ff.

assumption is the mention of a Nāgarāja in the M. M. K. whose rule over Gauda is referred to in the section which follows that in which Śaśāṅka's career is described.⁽¹⁾ The commentator K. P. Jayaswal, however, takes this section to refer to the rule of the Nāgas under the Bharasīvas.⁽²⁾ This seems to be correct, because at another place the M. M. K. makes Jaya the predecessor of Śaśāṅka. It states: "Mahāviṣa Jaya (Jayanāga) conquered the people of the south-east. Keśarī (Siṃha)⁽³⁾ and another named Soma (Śaśāṅka) became Kings. Thereafter the Gauda nation was divided.....".⁽⁴⁾ A point about the coins of Jaya and Śaśāṅka should also be examined here. Jaya's coins weigh, on an average, 136 grains. They are of very base metal⁽⁵⁾ and according to Allan⁽⁶⁾ they cannot be earlier than the end of sixth century A.D. Śaśāṅka's coins, however, have an average weight of 145.8 grains. As debasement of the coins generally suggests a later date for the person who issued them Bhattasali places Jaya after Śaśāṅka. It must be noted, however, that there are some proven exceptions to this rule, such as Prakāṭāditya's coins, which are of finer metal than those of his predecessors.⁽⁷⁾

(1) The M. M. K. Trans. p.51

(2) Jayaswal - Hist. of India A.D.150-350.

(3) Is he to be identified with King Ādisiṃha of the Dhūdhapānī Inscription (Ep. Ind. II p.343)?

(4) The M. M. K. Trans. p.66.

(5) Coins of Medieval India - Cunningham

(6) C.G.D.B.M. p.civ.

(7) C.G.D.B.M. pp.135-6.

The legend 'Jaya' on some of Śaśāṅka's coins not only suggests close connection between Jayanāga and Śaśāṅka, as pointed out by Allan,⁽¹⁾ but also indicates that Jayanāga was earlier in time than Śaśāṅka. It seems to us that the latter, who had no legal claim over the throne of the former, seized it by force, but in order to give the impression of being a loyal successor, thought it wise to inscribe Jaya's name on his coins during the earlier part of his reign.

Indeed it seems highly improbable that Harṣa, who was a staunch enemy of the Gaudas and whose power was considerable at the time of Śaśāṅka's death, could have allowed the continuation of Gauda rule through Jayanāga. The M.M.K. informs us that Gauda lay weak and divided after Śaśāṅka's death, which must have made Harṣa's task of conquest easy. Jayanāga's reign was of a fair length, during which he issued coins and inscriptions, and it is indeed impossible to place it after Śaśāṅka's reign.

We have briefly touched on the circumstances that led to an alliance between Śaśāṅka and the King of Mālava, and its vital consequences. After the death of both Grahavarman and Rājyavardhana, Harṣa became the King of Kanauj as well as Sthānviśvara. He organised a vast military campaign to punish the murderer of his brother and to acquire more territory.⁽²⁾ Śaśāṅka seems to have been deprived of his province of Magadha but continued to rule in Gauda for several more years. We shall fully narrate the

(1) C.G.D.B.M. p. CV

(2) H.C. Trans. p.185. 'Think not therefore of the Gauda king alone: so deal that for the future no other follow his example

whole story and examine the several questions connected with it in subsequent chapters. Here we shall examine the evidence which testifies to the expansion of Śaśāṅka's kingdom in the south-east, towards Orissa between A.D. 606-620.

Śaśāṅka had established suzerainty over the greater part of Bengal before he came into conflict with the Vardhanas. The M. M. K.⁽¹⁾ connects Śaśāṅka with Puṇḍravardhana in Northern Bengal. According to Hsuan-tsang,⁽²⁾ his capital was Karpasuvārṇa, which is to be located in Western Bengal. Śaśāṅka no doubt also held south Bengal, as he later expanded his kingdom as far as the Ganjam district of Orissa. His suzerainty over Eastern Bengal is doubtful, even though one of his Rājātilā type of coins has been found at Muhammadpur, near Jessore.⁽³⁾ A coin may have easily travelled far from its place of issue. Thus the kingdom to which Śaśāṅka was 'confined' by Harṣa covered a wide expanse of territory. Failure in his westward exploits and the loss of the important province of Magadha did not dampen the spirits of the ambitious Śaśāṅka, who decided to show his strength in other directions. His north-eastern neighbour, King Bhāskaravarman, had already strengthened his position by an alliance with Harṣa; therefore Śaśāṅka directed his attention to the more vulnerable kingdom of Orissa.

(1) The M. M. K. Verse 723

(2) Beal I. p. 210

(3) C.C.G.D.B.M. p. CXXVII

Northern and Central Orissa were under the sovereignty of the Mānas, at least from A.D. 579 to A.D. 602-3, the dates (1) of the Soro Plate A (2) and the Patiākella Grant (3) of Mahārāja Sambhuyasas and Mahārāja Śivarāja respectively. The kingdom of Kongoda to the south of Udra was ruled by the Śailodbhava dynasty, which for some time at least seems to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mānas. The great-grandson of the founder of this dynasty was Mādhavarāja II, who ascended the throne some time before A.D. 619. (4) His Ganjam plate dated in that year (G.E. 300) was issued 'while the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śasāṅkarāja was ruling'.

The whole region of Northern and Central Orissa, as far as the Ganjam district in the south, was subjugated by Śasāṅka probably after his westward expansion had been checked by Harṣa in A.D. 606-607.

The copper plates issued during Śasāṅka's reign, have been found at Midnapur (5) and testify Gauda mastery over Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala. Midnapur Copper Plate No. 2 is dated year 8 (6) which we take to belong to the regnal year of Mahāpratihāra Śubhakīrti's suzerain Śrī Śasāṅka. (7) We have seen that Śasāṅka independent career started in cir. A.D. 603 after the death of 'Suva', therefore the dating of the Midnapur plate No. 2

(1) The dates 260 and 283 have been referred to the Gupta Era. J.R.A.S.B.L. XI p. 4 ff.

(2) E.I. XXIII p. 197 ff.

(3) E.I. IX p. 285 ff.

(4) E.I. VI p. 143 ff.

(5) J.A.S.B. (Letters) Series 3 XI p. 1. ff.

(6) loc. cit. Majumdar.

(7) J.A.S.B. (Letters) Series 3 XI p. 1. ff. "Year 8, 12th day of Pausa... 'while the illustrious Śasāṅka is protecting the earth, while this Daṇḍabhukti is being ruled by Mahāpratihāra Śubhakīrti'".

indicates that he had conquered Daṇḍabhukti in northern Orissa by A. D. 611. Midnapur Copper Plate No. 1⁽¹⁾ is dated year 13 (or 303 G.E.)⁽²⁾ and records that Śaśāṅka's was the master of both Daṇḍabhuti and Utkala by A.D.616⁽³⁾

Four more copper plates of that period have been discovered at Soro in the Bālasore district of Orissa⁽⁴⁾ which, when compared with each other and with the Midnapur plate No. 1, establish that Śaśāṅka was in occupation of Uttara Tośālī, i.e. the modern Bālasore and Midnapur districts, by A.D.608, or three years before the date furnished by Midnapur plate No. 2.

The Bālasore Copper Plate inscription⁽⁵⁾ dated year 5, the 4th day of Mārgga, records that the 'Mahāpratīhāra Mahārāja Sāmanta Śrī Bhanuh for the enhancement of the religious merit of Śrī Parama-bhāṭṭāraka-pāda donates land to the Mahāmātras Priyamitrāsuvāmin, Cātumitrāsuvāmin, Dhruvamitrāsuvāmin and Āruhamitrāsuvāmin.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Majumdar reads the date as 19 or 309 (G.E.) but Sinha pp.236-238, adduces good reasons to show that the second numeral of the date may be read as 3, on comparison with several other grants where a similar sign, most probably denoting 'la' has been read as 3 by various scholars (Bühler, E.I.III p.131 ff; D.C.Sircar, J.A.H.R.S. VII p.229 ff; Ojha, P.L.Table 71 etc.). We think that the date is more likely 13, denoting the regnal year of Śaśāṅka and not 303 (G.E.), because three other plates discovered at Soro in Bālasore, testifying Śaśāṅka's suzerainty in that region, are also dated in the regnal years of the suzerain.

(3) 'While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth, while Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala is being ruled by the illustrious feudatory Mahārāja Somadatta.'

(4) I.H.Q. XI p.611 ff and Ep. Ind. XXIII p.197 ff.

(5) I.H.Q. XI p.611 ff.

The Soro plate D dated year 5, the 17th day of Phālguna, was issued by the Mahāpratihāra Mahārāja Bhānudatta to Priyamitrasvāmin, Vātamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin.

The Soro plate B dated year 15, the 13th day of Vaiśākha, was issued by the Mahābalādhikṛta, Antarāṅga and Mahāsāndhivigrahika Somadatta to Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin etc.

The Soro plate C dated year 15, the 24th day of Māgha, was issued bySomadatta to Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin.

The identification of the Somadatta of the Soro plates B and C with the Somadatta of the Midnapur Copper plate No.1. is no doubt correct. Thus we may presume that the unnamed sovereign in the former plates was also Śaśāṅka, whose suzerainty was acknowledged in Uttara-Tośālī in A.D.618.

The 'Bhanuh' and 'Bhānudatta' of the Bālasore copper plate inscription and the Soro Plate D are also no doubt the same person. The 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka', for the enhancement of whose religious merit land was granted by Mahārāja Sāmanta Bhānuh in the year 5, must be Śaśāṅka, who held sway over northern Orissa by A.D.608.

According to Majumdar,⁽¹⁾ Bhānudatta succeeded Somadatta as the governor of Utkala, but we believe that the order should be reversed, because Somadatta's plates are dated year 15, as against those of Bhānudatta dated year 5. The fact that the

(1) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.94

names of the first two donees of Bhānudatta's plates have been dropped in Somadatta's plates also points to the same conclusion.

Earlier we referred to the Ganjam plate of Mādhavaraja II of the Śailodbhava dynasty, which is dated in the year 300 of the Gupta Era, and records the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja over the victorious Koṅgoḍa.⁽¹⁾ This date, A.D.619-20 is the last known date of Śaśāṅka.

Several authors have maintained that Śaśāṅka's control over Magadha was intact until his death, which they say took place shortly before the date of Hsüan-tsang's visit to that part of the country in A.D.637.⁽²⁾

Five references to Śaśāṅka in Hsüan-tsang's work connect him with acts of oppression against Buddhism.⁽³⁾ They all give the impression that Śaśāṅka's activities had taken place several years before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and it is indeed surprising how scholars have interpreted them to convey that Śaśāṅka was active in Magadha until not long before A.D.637,⁽⁴⁾ when Hsüan-tsang was visiting the Buddhist sacred sites in Magadha.⁽⁵⁾

We have already referred to the words of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, spoken to Harṣa before his accession, which

(1) E.I.VI p.143 ff.

(2) R.C.Majumdar H.C.I.P. III p.80, Mookerji pp.63 @ 73.

(3) Beal I p.212, II pp.42, 91 118 & 121

(4) Cunningham A.G.I. (1924) p.646

(5) R.C.Majumdar (H.C.I.P. III p.107) writes: 'Śaśāṅka must have died before, probably not long before A.D.637, when Hiuen-Tsang refers to it as a recent event', and again, 'According to the M.M.K. Harṣa marched against Puṇḍra, defeated him... and returned and as Hiuen-Tsang testifies, Śaśāṅka regained possession of Magadha.'

clearly convey that Śaśāṅka was known for his anti-Buddhist activities even in A.D.606.⁽¹⁾

The second relevant passage refers to Śaśāṅka's oppression of the Buddhists of Kuśinagara, and reads thus: 'Subsequently Śaśāṅka-rāja destroyed the law of the Buddha. The monks were without comrades and years and months quickly passed.'⁽²⁾

The third reference to Śaśāṅka⁽³⁾ is preceded by a long description of Aśoka's acts of piety carried out in Magadha. The pilgrim writes: "When Aśoka had ascended the throne....he paid the stone constant worship^{in person}. Afterwards the kings of the ^{various kingdoms all wanted} neighbourhood wished to carry it off to their own country but.....they could not move it at all.

"Lately Śaśāṅka-rāja, when he was overthrowing the law of the Buddha.....chiselled the stone to remove the (sacred) marks and flung it into the Ganges but it came back to its old place."

The Chinese character for 'lately' does not convey any specific time limit. Śaśāṅka was definitely very recent compared with Aśoka, and therefore the pilgrim used the term 'lately' for events that had taken place perhaps thirty years ago.

The next reference to Śaśāṅka is again preceded by a narration of Aśoka's pious acts: "Aśoka bathed the roots of the Bodhi tree.....and got a stone wall built around it.....In

(1) ~~See above p.~~ {Beal I p.212}

(2) ~~Translated from the original;~~ Beal II p.42. / vi. 216

(3) Beal II p.91. / viii. 5a

late times Śaśāṅka-rāja.....slandered the religion of the Buddha....destroyed the convents and cut down the Bodhi tree...

"Some months afterwards Pūrṇavarman, the King of Magadha (1)reverently bathed the roots of the tree and it revived again....." (4)

Hsüan-tsang then proceeds to narrate how the nearby Vihāra with its excellent image of the Buddha came to be built, and tells us that 'Śaśāṅka, having cut down the Bodhi tree wished to destroy this image. But having seen its loving features his mind had no rest or determination, and he returned ~~with his retinue~~ homewards..! (2)

The pilgrim then relates that Śaśāṅka ordered one of his officers to have the image removed and replaced it by one of Śiva. The officer merely erected a wall to hide Buddha's statue, but when he reported that the King's orders had been carried out Śaśāṅka was divinely punished and contracted a disease which resulted in his death.

R. C. Majumdar (3) interprets Hsüan-tsang to mean that 'Śaśāṅka regained possession of Magadha" after he had been defeated and confined to Gauda by Harṣa, as recorded by the M.M.K. In fact Śaśāṅka's anti-Buddhist activities in Magadha seem to have taken place before Harṣa's accession to the throne.

(1) Probably appointed as the governor of Magadha by Harṣa.

See below p. 131 fn. 2

(2) Beal II p. 121 / VIII. 21a

(3) H.C.I.P. III p. 107.

(4) Beal II pp 117-8 / VIII. 19a

No statement of Hsüan-tsang suggests that Śaśāṅka regained Magadha. On the contrary, it is to be noticed that in the above quoted reference to Śaśāṅka, Hsüan-tsang records his departure from Magadha after he had destroyed the Buddhist relics. The story of Śaśāṅka's death immediately after the desecration of the Buddha-image is most suspect, because it is just such a story as Hsüan-tsang would introduce into his narrative in order to create effect. A very similar story is told about the anti-Buddhist King Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, in Northern Buddhist sources.⁽¹⁾ The story of Puṣyamitra's sudden destruction with all his army, after his promulgation at Śākala of a law promising 100 dīnāras for the head of every Buddhist monk slain by his subjects, is manifestly false, and it is reasonable to assume that Hsüan-tsang's story of Śaśāṅka is likewise untrue. The legend of Puṣyamitra was almost certainly known to Hsüan-tsang, for it exists in more than one Chinese version, and we suspect that he had Puṣyamitra's fate in mind when he told of the similar fate of Śaśāṅka. According to the M.M.K.⁽²⁾ Śaśāṅka died of a disease of the mouth which caused high fever, and then death. It is thus probable that the Gauda King did die after a serious illness which Hsüan-tsang, because of his religious bias, attributes to Śaśāṅka's impious acts, but

(1) J. Przyluski, La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka. p.301

(2) The M.M.K. Trans. p.50.

the evidence that he died immediately after his attack on
 (in c. A.D. 603)
 Magadha, is inadequate to arouse belief. We hold the opinion
 that Śaśāṅka ruled prosperously for several years after these
 events, according to the M.M.K., 'owing to his good deeds as
 a Buddhist in the previous birth.'

The M.M.K. also records that Śaśāṅka's rule lasted
 seventeen years and some weeks, which seems to be correct
 and is supported by inscriptional evidence. We have placed
 the beginning of Śaśāṅka's independent rule in A.D. 603, and he
 may have died soon after his Śailodbhava feudatory Mādhavarāja
 issued the Ganjam inscription dated A.D. 619-20.⁽¹⁾ Mādhavarāja
 seems to have assumed independent status soon after this date,
 because his Puri plates⁽²⁾ dated year 13 (A.D. 623)⁽³⁾ show that
 he had celebrated an Aśvamedha before his thirteenth regnal
 year. Unlike his Ganjam inscription, Mādhavarāja does not
 acknowledge the suzerainty of any king in his Puri plates.
 Thus the dates of Śaśāṅka's independent rule may be fixed
 as A.D. 603-620.

According to the M.M.K. "after the death of 'Soma', the
 Gauda political system was reduced to mutual distrust, raised
 weapons and mutual jealousy. One king for one week, another
 for a month, then a republican constitution, such will be the
 daily condition of the country on this bank of the Ganges.
 Thereafter Soma's son Mānava will last for eight months".⁽⁴⁾

(1) E.I. VI p.143 ff.

(2) Ibid XXIV pp.151-53, dated doubtfully read as 23.

(3) D.C.Sircar in I.H.Q. XXVII pp.166-67. On examination of the
 point we agree with Sircar's reading, 13.

(4) The M.M.K. Trans. p.50.

It may be inferred from this account that Harṣa did not hurry to occupy Gauda after Śaśāṅka's death. The confusion that ensued was probably anticipated and Harṣa seems to have felt so confident of his power that he did not fear that Gauda would be occupied by the King of Kāmarūpa or Orissa. We do not know exactly when Harṣa brought Bengal under his control, but it would be safe to assume that he was in possession of it before, probably long before, A.D. 643, when he attacked Koṅgoḍa in Orissa. It is even possible that Mānava was installed the King of Gauda by Harṣa, in accordance with the rules of statecraft concerning conquered states. On Mānava's death or deposition by Harṣa, the province may have been ruled by the King's direct representative. Some scholars, on the basis of a land-grant of Bhāskaravarman, issued from the victorious camp of Karnasuvarna, surmise that he came into possession of the Bengal 'east of the Bhāgīrathī and north of the Padmā river'⁽¹⁾ after Śaśāṅka's death, and that Harṣa's hold was confined to the south of the Padmā. But there is no real basis for this contention. We shall deal with this question in detail in the chapter on Harṣa's conquests.⁽²⁾ Śaśāṅka's death opened a new field for expansion in the east for Harṣa.

(1) R.C.Majumdar H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.107

(2) See below p. 145

The Maitrakas of Valabhi

In the reign of Skandagupta (cir. A.D. 454-67)⁽¹⁾ Saurāṣṭra was governed by Goptr Parnadatta, who had been appointed the warden of that important region by the emperor himself.⁽²⁾ There was a short period of family factions after Skandagupta's death, which seems to have loosened the imperial grip on the distant provinces, because the Maitraka chief Bhaṭārka started his line of hereditary rulers in the reign of Budhagupta (cir. A.D. 477-500).⁽³⁾ Bhaṭārka and his son Dharasena I take only the comparatively humble title of Senāpati.

The death of Budhagupta was followed by a period of troubles. Disputes over the succession led to the partition of the empire; the Hūnas attacked and conquered an extensive part of northern India; the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (cir. A.D. 475-500) claims victories over Lāṭa and Avanti about this time;⁽⁴⁾ while Yaśodharman, who rose to power in Mālava, claims to have carried his arms as far as the eastern extremity of the Gupta empire.⁽⁵⁾ The very fact, however, of so many new powers contending for supremacy at the same time led to the weakening of their strength. Hariṣeṇa proved to be the

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- (1) A. L. Basham, *Bulletin of S.O.A.S.* (1955) Vol. XVII Pt 2.
 (2) C.I.I. Vol. III No. 14, p. 62 p. 367
 (3) cf. H.C.I.P. Vol. III p. 61 fn. 2.
 (4) Hyd. Ar. Series (1941) No. 14 p. 11.
 (5) C.I.I. III p. 142 ff.

last great Vākāṭakaking, since no record of any of his successors is known to exist. The Hūnas were repulsed by both Yaśodharman and the Imperial Gupta emperor, Narasiṃhagupta, while the former himself disappeared abruptly from the political stage. Thus Budhagupta's brother, Narasiṃhagupta, succeeded in re-establishing the authority of his dynasty.

It seems that, taking advantage of these disturbances, the third member of the Maitraka dynasty, Dharasena I's son Dronasiṃha, decided to assume the status of a Mahārāja. The death of Bhānugupta, probably in the Eran battle, may have encouraged Dronasiṃha to make known his intention of placing his dynasty on a completely independent footing. The Imperial Gupta emperor, Narasiṃhagupta, seems to have been prudent enough to accept his new status as an accomplished fact, and he may well be 'the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole world who in person installed Dronasiṃha in royalty by performing the 'Abhiṣeka' ceremony'.⁽¹⁾ According to K. J. Virji,⁽²⁾ the paramount ruler referred to in the Valabhi grants who bestowed the title of Mahārāja on Dronasiṃha was not an Imperial Gupta ruler, but the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa, because as well as the latter's claim to have conquered Lāṭa and Avanti, a daughter of a king of Ujjayinī⁽³⁾ is said to have married Dhruvasena I of Valabhipura, and

(1) C.I.I. III No.38, The Maliya copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Dhārasena II, dated A.D.571-2.

(2) Ancient History of Saurashtra (1955) p.29

(3) Darśanasāra as quoted by Shah, Jainism in Northern India, p.68.

this king was 'undoubtedly the Vākāṭaka monarch'. Support, however, is lacking for this contention. Dronasimha's reign may, with the help of Valabhi inscriptions, be placed between cir. A.D. 500-520, whereas Hariṣeṇa's career came to an end in cir. A.D. 500. Virji quotes Jāyaswāl's dating, A.D. 490-520, for Hariṣeṇa's rule⁽¹⁾ but as it is purely conjectural she extends his reign by a few years and quotes Jouveau-Dubreuil's view that Hariṣeṇa ruled from A.D. 500-530.⁽²⁾ Mirashi, however, has recently established, on the basis of the Ajantā inscription of the Vākāṭakas, that Hariṣeṇa's rule may be fixed between Cir. A.D. 475-500.⁽³⁾ Therefore it is most unlikely that Dronasimha's overlord was a Vākāṭaka, and not an Imperial Gupta ruler. Further support for this view may be found in the fact that the Maitrakas dated their inscriptions throughout in the Gupta Saṃvat, and that the successors of Dronasimha, even some 90 years after the known date of their ancestor, took pride in associating themselves with a dynasty still famous in the memory of contemporary politicians.⁽⁴⁾ Of all the powers existing at the time of Dronasimha only the illustrious Gupta dynasty is likely to have been so well remembered. The noteworthy similarities between the Grant of Dronasimha⁽⁵⁾ and the Gupta grants may also be taken into account in this connection.

(1) His. of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period), J.B.O.R.S.

(2) Ancient History of the Deccan - p.76. XIX p.79.

(3) Hyd. Arch. Series (1941) No.14.

(4) See Dharasena II's Maliya Copper-plate inscr. dated A.D. 571-2 C.I.I. III No.38; the Watson Museum plates of Dharasena II dated A.D. 589-90 in I.H.O. IV p.483; Valabhi inscriptions in J.B.B.R.A.S. I (N.S.) pp.13-75.

(5) J.B.B.R.A.S. XX p.1. ff.

Fleet⁽¹⁾ considered Yaśodharman to be Dronasimha's overlord, but the discovery of Dronasimha's grant dated A.D.502 proves that his coronation had taken place in or before that date, and hence Yaśodharman, who rose to power later, could not have been the overlord of this Maitraka ruler. Cunningham's suggestion that Budhagupta was the king in question is open to doubt, because his last known date is A.D.494-5. Thus Narasimhagupta is most likely to have been Dronasimha's overlord, and may have willingly granted him the title of Mahārāja to secure his goodwill in the troublous times that heralded his reign, and continued to exist at least in the former part of it.

Mahārāja Dronasimha was succeeded by his brother Mahāsāmant^a, Mahārāja Dhruvasena I who in his grant dated A.D.535⁽²⁾ records that he acquired the throne by the strength of his own arms, which seems not to refer to a disputed succession to the throne but to a reaffirmation of the Maitraka authority after the fall of Yaśodharman, whose Mandasor inscription is dated A.D.533.⁽³⁾ Dhruvasena also bore the titles of Mahāpratīhāra, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka and Mahākārtika⁽⁴⁾ and 'meditated at the feet of a paramount lord' who may have been no other than a Gupta emperor, a scion of whose family was still ruling in Bengal in A.D.543-44. However, the authority of the Maitrakas strengthened

(1) I.A. XV, p.187

(2) E.I. IV pp.104-7

(3) C.I.I. III No.35.

(4) E.I. IV pp.104-7 and J.R.A.S. 1895 p.382 ff.

under the rule of Dhruvasena because we find a Gārulaka ruler,⁽¹⁾ Varāhadāsa II of Girnar, acknowledging the suzerainty of Dhruvasena, not Guhasena or Dharasena II, as Majumdar⁽²⁾ would have us believe, in a copper-plate dated A.D. 549.⁽³⁾ Dhruvasena's earliest known grant is dated A.D. 525,⁽⁴⁾ therefore he ruled for at least twenty five years.

Dhruvasena I was probably succeeded by his aging younger brother, Dharapaṭṭa, who apparently died after a short reign, since the latter's son Guhasena is known to have issued a grant in A.D. 559,⁽⁵⁾ only ten years after the last known date of his uncle Dhruvasena I. The succession of Dharapaṭṭa to the throne of Valabhi, however, cannot be established with complete certainty, because, although he is mentioned as a Mahārāja in the records of his grandson, Dharasena II,⁽⁶⁾ his name is not to be found in the grants of his son, Guhasena.⁽⁷⁾

(1) For greater details, Bombay Gazetteer VIII p.590. E.I.XI p.17 and Jour. of the Bom.Uni. III p.79 to be consulted.

(2) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.63, but see below p. 94

(3) Gadre, "The Five Valā Copper-plate Grants", Jour. of the Bom. Uni. III p.79, ff.

(4) E.I. XI p.106 ff; I.A.XXXIX p.129

(5) I.A. VII p.67 ff.

(6) I.A. XV p.187 ff.

(7) I.A. VII p.67; IV p.174; V p.207. Virji, however, notices that the first plate of the first grant, which might have contained Dharapaṭṭa's name, is missing. On the other hand both the plates of the grant dated A.D. 559 are well preserved, yet Dharapaṭṭa's name is not to be found in them. As the beginning of the description of Guhasena after that of Dhruvasena I is very abrupt Virji suspects a mistake on the part of the scribe but there is little reason to doubt his accuracy. The fact that Dharasena II applies the title Mahārāja to Dharapaṭṭa is at present the only possible argument in favour of the latter's succession to the throne of Valabhi.

Guhasena's first known record is dated A.D. 559,⁽¹⁾ while that of his successor is dated A.D. 571;⁽²⁾ therefore, his reign may have lasted about ten years. The fact that he dispensed with the title of Mahāsāmanta and used only that of Mahārāja shows that Maitraka power increased during his reign. His wealth, prowess and good government are repeatedly referred to in his records, and the objects of his grants testify to his devotion to ^{both} Siva and Buddha.

Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II, whose various grants range between A.D. 571 and A.D. 589. The earliest known date of his successor, however, is A.D. 605,⁽³⁾ therefore he may have ruled for a long period of approximately thirty years. No vital change in the fortunes of the Maitrakas seems to have occurred in the reign of Dharasena II. His first two grants, dated A.D. 571,⁽⁴⁾ ascribe to him the simple title of Sāmanta. His record dated A.D. 573⁽⁵⁾ attributes to him the title of Mahārāja, while in his grants of the years 588 and 589,⁽⁶⁾ though he is given the ordinary titles of Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja in the text, in the royal signature he is described as Mahādhirāja.

(1) I.A. VII p.67

(2) I.A. XV p.187

(3) E.I. XI p.115; I.A. I p.45.

(4) I.A. XV p.187; J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.) IV p.38

(5) E.I. XXI p.179

(6) I.A. VI p.11.

The Gārulaka King, Siṃhāditya, son of Varāhadāsa II and the great-grandson of the founder of the dynasty, Mahārāja Sūra⁽¹⁾, was a contemporary of Dharasena II and his copper-plate grant dated A.D. 574 has been found along with Maitraka grants, at Palitānā. No reference to a Maitraka Mahārāja is made in Siṃhāditya's grant, unlike in that of his predecessor Varāhadāsa, but the facts that the grants of both the dynasties are found at the same place and that Dharasena II assumed the title of Mahādhirāja indicate that the Gārulakas continued to be loyal to the Maitrakas.

After the death of Dharasena II, in cir. A.D. 590, the throne of Valabhi passed into the hands of his son Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, who was no doubt the same as the devout Buddhist King Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po of Hsüan-tsang's description. Śīlāditya's reign lasted approximately twenty five years, because the last known grant of his predecessor is dated A.D. 589,⁽²⁾ while the first known record of his successor Kharagraha I was issued in A.D. 616.⁽³⁾ His authority over the Valabhi kingdom seems to have been shared by his brother Kharagraha I towards the end of his reign. Support for this conjecture may be found in the inscriptions of the period and possibly in Hsuan-tsang's account. The Alina copper plates of

(1) E.I. XI p.17

(2) I.A. VI p.11.

(3) Proceeding of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda p.659 ff.

Śīlāditya II⁽¹⁾ mention that Śīladitya /Dharmāditya/ "excessively full of respect (for him) /Kharagraha/ (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra." This allusion to a contest between Indra and Upendra, the latter being the winner, points to Kharagraha's success against his brother.⁽²⁾ The event may have occurred sometime after A.D. 609, the date of the seventh grant of Śīlāditya, in which Kharagraha is, for the first time, mentioned as the Dūtaka.⁽³⁾ As is clear from all the copper plate records issued from the time of Dhruvasena III onwards, Śīlāditya I had a son named Derabhaṭṭa, who is said to have been the master of the countries lying between the Sahya and the Vindhya, which he must have conquered during his father's lifetime. This addition to the Valabhi territory may have been made when the civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin was weakening the Cālukyas, when, in the words of the Aihole inscription, "the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies".⁽⁴⁾ Derabhaṭṭa's son Śīlāditya is also stated to have been 'the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains'. Pulakeśin, however, subdued the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras within a few years, perhaps in A.D. 622, for the Khetaka record of Dharasena III, dated A.D. 623,⁽⁵⁾ bestows on him only the epithet of Parama-Māheśvara. ~~Hsuan tsang, in A note~~ ^{to the text} describes Mo-la-po as

(1) C.I.I. III p.182

(3) G.V.Acharya No.51.

(5) ~~Maṅgaleśa's grant to the temple of Śīlāditya I at~~

~~at the temple of Śīlāditya I at~~

E.I. XXI p.181 ff.

(2) Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 30; Fleet C.I.I.

(4) I.A. VIII p.242; III p.182

E.I. VI p.1 ff.

South Lo as against Fa-La-pi, which ~~is~~ called North Lo. (1)

This distinction may have been made because of the fact that the two regions, though parts of the same greater kingdom, had at certain times been governed by members of a collateral line of the main ruling family. Thus it is possible that Śīlāditya ruled with full authority until C.A.D. 610, about which time his brother wrested some power from his hands and exercised his independent control over certain parts of the kingdom. This, also, explains the exclusion of the members of Śīlāditya I's line from occupying the Valabhi throne for thirty five years after his death.

Śīlāditya I was a contemporary of Harṣa for no less than nine years. Circumstances seem to have arisen in which their interests clashed as far as the region of Mālava was concerned. Prabhākaravardhana's exploits in Lāṭa and Mālava against the Kalacūris and Devagupta respectively, (2) and the latter's deadly campaign against Harṣa's brother-in-law, the Maukhari King Grahavarman, must naturally have aroused in Harṣa the ambition to subjugate Mālava; but the Maitrakas, taking advantage of the confusion, seem to have annexed Ujjain in C.A.D. 610. (3) The end of the Kalacūris, who had held Ujjain, may also be placed in this year. The Cālukyas were divided by

(1) Watters II pp.243 and 246; Beal II pp.260 fn.56 and 266 fn.71. / XI. 14a

(2) See Below p. 119

(3) Seventh All India Oriental Congress p.659. KharagrahaI issued a grant from Ujjayinī in A.D.616.

civil wars at this time, Devagupta was dead and Harṣa was settling accounts with Śaśaṅka. The Maitrakas could not have found a better opportunity for expanding their territory. The Virḍi grant of Śīlāditya's successor Kharagraha I is dated A.D.616, and was issued from Ujjain.⁽¹⁾ This much coveted city remained with the Maitrakas until the Cālukya King Pulakeśin II defeated the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, when the area of Ujjain also must have come under his influence. But these regions, which touched the south-western boundary of Harṣa's empire, caused conflict between the Vardhana and the Cālukya monarchs. This topic will be dealt with in our chapter on the extent of Harṣa's empire.

Śīlāditya was succeeded by his brother Kharagraha I in cir. A.D.615. He apparently had enjoyed high status in the reign of his brother and the Maitraka power does not seem to have suffered any diminution of territory in his reign. Of Kharagraha's two available grants, one was issued from the famous camp of Ujjayini⁽²⁾ and the other from Valabhi.⁽³⁾ Harṣa's hostility against the Maitrakas must have continued in Kharagraha's reign, though no action was yet taken by the former to manifest it. Kharagraha's reign was short, for his successor, Dharasena III's only known inscription is dated A.D.623.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Important Inscriptions of Baroda State I p.7 ff.

(4) E.I. I p.86.

Dharasena III was the son of Kharagraha I. His reign was also brief, because the next Maitraka ruler, Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, issued his first copper-plate grant in A.D.629.⁽¹⁾ But this brief reign, which coincided with the great military achievements by Pulakeśin II, witnessed a serious diminution in the territory and prestige of the Maitrakas. The Aihole inscription of the Cālukya monarch records that "subdued by his splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, might behave".⁽²⁾ Dharasena III seems to have made a southern city of his kingdom, the modern Kaira, a base of operations, because his only known record is said to have been issued from the victorious camp of Khetaka.⁽³⁾ Dharasena claims no regal titles in this inscription, dated A.D.623, which may have been the fateful year in which Pulakeśin's forces invaded the ^{north-western} ~~Apāranta~~ countries. The Maitrakas, however, did not offer voluntary submission to the Cālukyas, as Virji would have us believe.⁽⁴⁾ If they had done so, their name would certainly have occurred with those of their neighbours, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras, in the Aihole inscription. The Maitrakas were, however, deprived of their possessions in the Malava region, and their power was so adversely affected that neither Dharasena nor his successor Dhruvasena bore any regal titles, the former because of

(1) ~~J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.) I, p.38~~ I.A.VI. p.13 ff.

(2) E.I. VI pp.9-10.

(3) J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.) III p.185

(4) pp.67-68, "But he (Dharasena III) was so overwhelmed by the majesty and power of Pulikeśin that he and the Gurjara chief made their submission to him of their own accord."

Pulakeśin's conquests and the latter, on account of Harṣa's successful attack on Valabhi.

A grant, dated A.D. 643, of the Cālukya Raja Vijayarāja, (1) issued from Vijayapura, but found at Khetaka or Kaira, from where Dharasena III also issued his inscription, records the grant of two villages in the modern Surat and Broach districts and testifies to the establishment of a Cālukya viceroy by Pulakeśin to govern his newly acquired provinces in the north-west of his empire. Vijayarāja records his genealogy as beginning from Jayasimharāja, whose son was his own father, Vallabha Raṇavikrānta Rāja-Buddhavarman, who was probably the first viceroy appointed by Pulakeśin.

Dharasena III was succeeded on the throne of Valabhi by his younger brother, Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya. His first and last known grants bear the dates A.D. 629 (2) and A.D. 640; (3) therefore during the whole of his reign he was a contemporary of Harṣa. Dhruvasena is no doubt the same as T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu of Hsüan-tsang, in whose reign the Chinese pilgrim visited Valabhi. Hsüan-tsang records that Dhruvabhaṭṭa was the nephew of Śīlāditya Dharmāditya, and the son-in-law of Harṣa Śīlāditya. (4) Dhruvasena II is also to be identified with the Valabhi King, who, according to Guṇjara records, on being defeated by the

(1) I.A. VII p.241 ff.

(2) I.A. VI p.13 ff.

(3) E.I. VIII p.196

(4) Beal II p.267; Watters II p.246.

great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva, took shelter at the court of Daḍḍa.⁽¹⁾

This king may have been the second of that name whose first and last known records are respectively dated A.D.629 and A.D.641.⁽²⁾

Harṣa's western campaign may be placed between A.D.630 and 634, the dates of the Lohner grant and the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II.⁽³⁾ The former does not allude to any conflict between Harṣa and Pulakeśin but the latter records in detail the military achievements of the Cālukya monarch, among them those against the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras, and indeed against Harṣa himself. Harṣa, however, seems to have been the invader, a troubler of the peace first of the Maitrakas and then of the Cālukyas. His motive in including the Valabhi King in his sphere of influence seems to have been to form a bulwark against the Cālukya power. Dhruvasena, instead of facing the enemy, fled for protection to the court of the Gurjara King Daḍḍa II.

The question has often been raised as to how the ruler of a small Gurjara state was in a position to protect the powerful Valabhi king against an even more powerful enemy, Harṣa. An easy explanation may be found in the fact that the Maitrakas had been considerably weakened by the sweeping raids of the Cālukyas, while the Gurjaras, though they had lost their independence, had

(1) I.A. XIII pp.77-9, this episode is first mentioned in the Gurjara King Jayabhata III's record dated A.D.736.

(2) E.I. XXIV p.179

(3) H.C.I.P. III p.235, E.I. VI p.1 ff, also cf. Altekar in Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst. Vol. XIII p.300 ff.

been tremendously strengthened by becoming a part of the Great Cālukya empire. Thus, the Valabhi King sought the help of the Cālukya monarch by fleeing to the kingdom of his immediate neighbour, who was a feudatory of Pulakeśin II. This inference is supported by the fact that Daḍḍa II, in his own inscriptions, does not record this achievement because he was not entitled to the credit for it. The fact is mentioned for the first time in A.D.736, in the record of Jayabhata III, when easy praise could have been claimed for the Gurjaras. Pulakeśin's Aihole inscription does not record this event because Harṣa had by then succeeded in winning over Dhruvasena to his own side. It appears, moreover, that the Valabhi King's stay in the Gurjara kingdom was brief, that he did not receive any tangible help from the Cālukyas, and that at least preliminary negotiations between him and Harṣa were conducted from the court of the Gurjaras. These facts were later magnified by Jayabhata to glorify his own dynasty. Dhruvasena's flight may have taken place in A.D.632, the date of his third grant,⁽¹⁾ which was to be followed by four more records, but only after a gap of six years. We may infer from Hsuan-tsang that Harṣa showed great political wisdom at this juncture.⁽²⁾ He weaned Dhruvasena from Pulakeśin's circle of influence by giving him an assurance of safety and offering him the hand of his daughter to secure the everlasting friendship and loyalty of the Maitrakas.

(1) J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.) I p.53

(2) Watters II p.246.

In the course of his western campaign Harṣa also seems to have over-run certain parts of Mālava, which he made over to Dhruvasena II. The latter's grants dated A.D. 639 and 640, discovered at Nogāvā, ten miles north of Ratlām, were issued respectively from Navagrāma (Nogāvā) and Candraputraka in Mālavaka. (1) They establish the fact that the Maitrakas regained possession of certain territories which had been lost to them as a result of the Cālukya invasion. To think that Dhruvasena re-occupied his Mālava domains independently would be to expect a deed which lay beyond his means, and perhaps beyond his competence. Harṣa, on the other hand, during the course of his march to Valabhi, must have secured parts of Mālava, which after the death of Devagupta had fallen into the hands of Pulakeśin. It was a very shrewd decision on Harṣa's part to offer Mālava to the Maitraka King, who, being the last possessor of Ujjain, not only had some claim over that kingdom but whose friendship at this juncture was very valuable to Harṣa, and who, in any case, with all his possessions, was from henceforth expected to enter Harṣa's Maṇḍala.² ~~It would of course have been more correct but not clever to restore Mālava back to the sons of Mahāsena-gupta, the princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, who continued to be loyal and friendly to Harṣa.~~ Thus, the hand of Harṣa's daughter and the prized areas of Mālava proved to be an

(1) E.I. VIII p.190 ff; A.S.I.A.R. 1902-3, II p.235

2. See Below pp 130-1 and 131 f.n.1.

irrésistible bait for Dhruvasena II. Pulakeśin might indeed have started military preparations to face Harṣa's offensive at this stage.

The date and place of issue of the Nogāvā grants has led some historians to think that Harṣa's attack on the Valabhi monarch took place after A.D.640, and that the king in question was probably Dharasena IV, the successor of Dhruvasena II.⁽¹⁾ It is argued that had the latter been involved in a conflict with Harṣa, Hsüan-tsang would have made a reference to the event. But there is no real basis for doubting Dhruvasena II's identity with the Valabhi king of the Gurjara grant. Hsüan-tsang may not be expected to record an unpleasant episode which was connected with two Buddhistically inclined monarchs, who were close relatives and of whom one was a patron of the Chinese pilgrim. Moreover, the last known date of the Gurjara King Dadḍa II, who is said to have given protection to the Valabhi King, is A.D.641, while the first known record of Dhruvasena II's successor Dharasena IV

(1) Indrajī, Bombay Gazetteer I, p.116; K.Chattopadhyā, Proceedings of the third Indian History Congress pp.596-600; Majumdar, H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.110, p.147, "Dharasena IV, who ascended the throne of Valabhi about A.D.644, assumed imperial titles and called himself a Cakravartī. Whether this led to hostility between him and Harṣavardhana, which forced him to take refuge with King Dadḍa II of Nāndīpuri, we do not definitely know."

was issued in A.D. 645-6.⁽¹⁾ Indeed, it does not seem possible that a monarch such as Dharasena IV, who claims the title 'Cakravartin in the aforementioned record, would seek shelter with the Gurjara King and two years later issue yet another grant with full Imperial titles from the victorious camp of Bharukaccha, which lay within the territory of the Gurjaras. The identity of the Valabhi King of the Gurjara grant is therefore definitely to be established with Dhruvasena II, and not Dharasena IV.⁽²⁾

Dhruvasena II enjoyed the friendship of Harṣa as the latter's subordinate until the end of his days. Hsuan-tsang informs us that the King of Valabhi attended the Mokṣa-pariṣad, convoked by Harṣa, in A.D. 643, and guarded the arena of charity on the west of the confluence at Prayāga. From his grants Dhruvasena, like his predecessors, appears to have been of a tolerant disposition and bestowed favours on both Hindu and Buddhist institutions. In his inscriptions he styles himself 'Parama māheśvara'.

The twelfth ruler of the Maitraka dynasty was Dharasena IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya. The first and last known dates of his grants are A.D. 645-6⁽³⁾ and A.D. 649,⁽⁴⁾

(1) I.A. I p.45

(2) Cf. C.V.Vaidya, H.M.H.I. Vol.I pp 2423; Ray, I.H.Q. IV, p.464; Altekar, A.B.O.R.I. XIII p.304; Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat p.18; R.C.Parikh, Historical Intro. to Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p lxxiv

(3) I.A.I. p.45

(4) I.A. XV p.339

and he assumed, for the first time in the history of the Maitrakas, full imperial titles such as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Cakravartin. He was Harṣa's contemporary for a very short period, and no doubt assumed these titles not long before Harṣa's death, when the latter's hold on the outlying provinces of his loosely knit empire must have got weakened. Dharasena's period also coincides with the dark period in the history of the Cālukyas, whose power rapidly declined after the death of Pulakeśin in cir. A.D. 642, to be revived again after more than twelve years by his son and successor, Vikramāditya I. Jāyaswāl's suggestion that Dharasena IV assumed imperial titles by virtue of being a grand-son of Harṣa is rather far-fetched, since the marriage between Dhruvasena II and Harṣa's daughter seems to have taken place in Cir. A.D. 632. (1) Dharasena would have been too young for the achievements with which he is credited if he had been the child of this marriage. He must have been the son of an older queen of Dhruvasena. Dharasena IV died in A.D. 650.

(1) See above p. 101

CHAPTER III

THE HOUSE OF THE VARDHANAS

The region of Sthānviśvara proved to be the cradle of the dynasty of the greatest seventh century monarch of northern India. A graphic account of this kingdom is to be found in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, supplemented and corroborated by Hsüan-tsang's description of Sa-t'a-ni-ssü-fa-lo, though the latter appears to ignore the fact that it was the paternal kingdom of Harṣa.

The Chinese pilgrim informs us that Sthānviśvara was situated in the north-east of Mathurā, at a distance of above 500 li (approximately 83 miles). It was above 7,000 li (approximately 1,167 miles) in circuit, and its capital was 20 li or so. The capital was surrounded for 200 li by a district called the 'place of religious merit',⁽¹⁾ or Dharmakṣetra, the famous battlefield of the ancient Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. According to Bāṇa Sthānviśvara was a 'janapada-viśeṣa' in the Janapada of Śrīkaṇṭha.⁽²⁾ Certain references in his work make it clear that Sthānviśvara, the capital, was situated on the banks of the river Sarasvatī.⁽³⁾ Thus, after a comparison of the two descriptions, the Kingdom

(1) Watters I, p.314, Beal I p. 184.

(2) H. C. Text. pp.96 & 97

(3) H. C. Trans. pp.86 & 198.

of the Vardhanas may be said to have extended from the river Satlej in the west to the Ganges in the east, with its capital at Sthānviśvara situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. (1) Bāna, furthermore, tells us that the region of Śrīkanṭha was so called after a Nāga of that name. (2)

The author of the Harṣacarita also gives us detailed information about the flora and fauna of the region. (3) He praises the fertility of the soil which produced wheat, rice, sugar-cane, beans and herbs in abundance. Rice is grown on the lower slopes of the Himālayas, while sugar-cane is cultivated in the eastern parts of the region; we may assume that these crops were also raised in Harṣa's day. Plantains, pomegranates, citrons, grapes, dates and saffron are also said to have been grown in this region, by Bāna, though he somewhat exaggerates the adaptability of the climate of Śrīkanṭha by adding coco-nut to his list of fruits. (4) Cows, buffalos, sheep, mares, camels and monkeys, as well as parrots and sparrows are mentioned among the fauna of the land. (5)

The Chinese pilgrim's brief description of Sthānviśvara largely agrees with that of the Indian poet, for the former records that the soil of the region was rich and fertile, the

(1) Op. cit. pp.79-81

(2) H.C. Trans. p.94

(3) cf. Cunningham's Ancient Geography p.377 ff.

(4) Coco-nut may be grown on a small scale as far inland as the Satlej-Jamna Doab, but it is far-fetched to imagine that it was a common fruit which grew in abundance in that region.

(5) H.C.Trans. pp.79-80.

crops abundant and the climate warm. Hsüan-tsang, however, also notes that few of the inhabitants of the country were given to farming, but that the majority pursued trade.⁽¹⁾

This shows that either Bāṇa omitted this aspect of the region's economic life because its description would not lend itself to the conventional, ornamental style of the language, or because trade came to flourish in this part of Harṣa's empire in the latter part of his reign, after his conquests in the west,⁽²⁾ when Bāṇa's work had already been composed. The latter seems to be more probable, because Bāṇa's versatility in the use of the Sanskrit language for such descriptions is demonstrated in his account of a Śabara settlement in the Vindhya region.⁽³⁾ Hsüan-tsang's statement that rarities from other lands were collected in Sthāṇviśvara⁽⁴⁾ also points to the same conclusion, since several of the more uncommon commodities may have found their way into the interior of the Kingdom once the trade routes of the western sea had become open to the traders of the country. The pilgrim adds, "the rich families vied with each other in extravagance: the manners and customs of the people were illiberal".⁽⁵⁾

(1) Watters I p.314, Beal I p.183 / IV. 96.

(2) See below p. 197 ff.

(3) H.C.Trans. p.225 ff.

(4) Watters I, p.314, Beal I p.183 / IV. 96.

(5) Ibid.

On the subject of the religious beliefs of Stānviśvara's inhabitants, Hsüan-tsang comments, no doubt with regret, that non-Buddhists were very numerous: there were in Stānviśvara only three Buddhist monasteries, with above 700 professed Buddhists, all Hinayanists, as against above a hundred Deva temples.⁽¹⁾ The Brahman Bāṇa on the other hand expresses his great admiration for the land 'where the laws of caste usage were forever unconfused.....where disasters were cut away, as if excised by numerous axes chiselling stone for temples.'⁽²⁾

Bāṇa thereafter introduces us to the political history of Sthānviśvara: in that country there arose a monarch named Puṣpabhūti.....who like a third added to the sun and the moon was the founder of a mighty line of kings.....wherein arose an emperor named Harṣa, world conquering like a second Māndhātṛ.⁽³⁾ We are further told that Puṣpabhūti, who was a devotee of Śiva "was honoured by citizens, dependants, councillors and neighbouring sovereigns, whom his arms' might had conquered and made tributary."⁽⁴⁾ Bāṇa refers to him as a 'Śūra Śūrasenākramane', 'a hero in invading Śūrasena'.⁽⁵⁾

The latter term involves a pun, and the phrase may be taken as 'in attacking an army of heroes'. But it would seem that Bāṇa intended to imply that Puṣpabhūti made an attack on the land

(1) Beal I pp.183-4; Watters I pp.314-5.

(2) H.C.Trans. pp.79 & 81

(3) op. cit. pp.83 & 97

(4) op. cit. p.85

(5) not conquest as translated by Cowell & Thomas p.84 fn.9.

of Śūrasenas, the region of Mathurā.

The date and the identity of the progenitor of the Vardhana dynasty is not easy to establish. Certain references by Bāṇa, however, when put together lead us to believe that Puṣpabhūti was probably a contemporary of the early Imperial Guptas. The Nāgas, whose coins have been found at Mathurā,⁽¹⁾ held sway over the Śūrasena region in the early decades of the fourth century. The region of Śrīkaṇṭha which lay in the neighbourhood of the Nāga domains, is said to have got its name from a Nāga Śrīkaṇṭha⁽²⁾ who, according to Bāṇa, was defeated by Puṣpabhūti in a 'malla yuddha'.⁽³⁾ This may be a garbled recollection of a war between the progenitor of the Vardhana line and a Nāga King of Mathura, when the former made a bid for power in the region that was under the influence of the Nāgas. But Puṣpabhūti or his successor cannot have been allowed to retain his newly-won independence for long, because with the advent of the mighty SamudraGupta all the kingdoms west of the Chenab came to form the Gupta empire.⁽⁴⁾ Puṣpabhūti's insignificant Sthānviśvara, which until recently

(1) Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali age, p.53; Jour.Num.Soc. Ind. Bombay V p.21 ff; Altekar, N.H.I. P. pp.36-37; B.C.Law. Historical Geography of India p.109, 'The Mathurā-Nāga Statuette Inscription amply proves the prevalence of serpent-worship in Mathurā'.

(2) H. C. Trans. p.94

(3) op. cit. p.95.

(4) C.I.I. Vol.III No.1.

had been under the Nāga sphere of influence, was subjugated by Samudragupta along with the kingdoms of the Nāgas, his eastern neighbours and the Yaudheyas, his western neighbours. That Puṣpabhūti was a remote and semi-legendary figure at the time of Bāṇa is evident from the account of his royal career, which is chiefly devoted to a description of the performance of a Śaiva sacrifice.⁽¹⁾

The clash between the Nāga King, who is made to appear a supernatural being, and Puṣpabhūti is said to have occurred in connection with this religious rite. Prabhākaravardhana's advent is thus recorded by

Bāṇa: 'From Puṣpabhūti there issued a line of Kings.....

In this line were born kings.....thronging the regions with their armies.....strong to support the world.....The line so proceeding, there was born in course of time a king of kings named Prabhākaravardhana'.⁽²⁾

The third ancestor of Prabhākara, Naravardhana, whose place in the Vardhana genealogy is known to us from Harṣa's records, must have flourished in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Thus the fortunes of Puṣpabhūti's line, which came into existence when the early Guptas were gaining power in the Gangetic Doab, cannot be followed for no less than a century and a half, indeed throughout the period of Gupta dominance, to be revived again by kings whose names had a Vardhana

(1) H. C. Trans. p.91 ff, also because Puṣpabhūti is not mentioned in Harṣa's inscriptions
 (2) H. C. Trans. pp.100-1

ending. No doubt Bāṇa ignores them during the period of Gupta domination, because they were reduced to insignificant vassalage. The invasion of the Hūṇas and the rise of Yaśodharman in Mālava must have had their repercussions on the fortunes of the Vardhanas, though nothing is known on the subject from available records. The Hūṇas, however, seem to have been the common enemy of all the Indian powers, because not only the Imperial Guptas and Yaśodharman, but the lesser Maukharis and Prabhākaravardhana are also credited with victories over them.

The names of Prabhākaravardhana's three ancestors and their queens, as recorded in Harṣa's Banṣkhera and Madhuban inscriptions⁽¹⁾ are as follows :

Mahārāja Naravardhana m. Vajriṇī devī

Mahārāja Rājyavardhana I m. Apsarodevī

Mahārāja Ādityavardhana m. Mahāsenaguptādevī

Working back from the date of Harṣa's accession in A.D. 606⁽²⁾ and assigning an average of twenty five years rule to each king, we may ascribe Naravardhana's reign to the period from Cir.A.D. 505 - 530. He bore the simple title of Mahārāja. His son, Rājyavardhana I, may have ruled from A.D. 530-555, while the latter's son, Ādityavardhana, whose queen Mahāsenaguptā

(1) Ep. Ind. IV p.208; I p.67

(2) See below ~~p~~ App. I

was in all probability a sister of the Later Gupta King Mahāsenagupta, may have wielded power from A. D. 555 - 580. This also agrees with our dating of the reign of Mahāsenagupta, who may have succeeded to the throne between the years 570 - 5, and who, in order to strengthen himself against the Maukharis, may have secured the alliance of the Vardhanas by marrying his sister to Ādityavardhana.⁽¹⁾

Ādityavardhana's son Prabhākaravardhana, also known as Pratāpaśīla, was the first King of the dynasty to assume the imperial title 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja', and is credited with several victories by Bāṇa. The Bānskhera inscription also describes him as one 'whose fame crossed the four oceans and who subjugated other kings by means of his valour or love'. Bāṇa records Prabhākaravardhana's achievements in the following words: He was "a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the King of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of the Gurjara King, a bilious fever to that scent - elephant, the lord of Gāndhāra, destroyer of the skill of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune (or sovereignty) of Mālava." ⁽²⁾

These rulers seem to have incurred little, if any, loss of territory at the hands of Prabhākaravardhana, but Bāṇa's rhetoric does indicate that the King of Stānviśvara was an

(1) See above p. 35

(2) Majumdar, H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.97

ambitious ruler who attacked his neighbours on the slightest pretext. 'War', was to him, 'a favour. A foe the discovery of a treasure.' There is no doubt that ultimately Prabhākaravardhana succeeded in winning a distinguished status for himself and his dynasty among contemporary rulers. Through his campaigns Prabhākaravardhana is said to have 'levelled on every side, hills and hollows, clumps and forests, trees and grass, thickets and anthills, mountains and caves.' According to the ancient works on law these landmarks marked the boundaries of various districts and regions. (1)

The Hūnas, though no longer a major danger in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, were still powerful enough to make raids on the territories of their neighbours. They may have had a principality on the banks of the Satlej, where it flows in the hilly tracts of the Gangri region. The Prince Rājyavardhana, when deputed by his father to attack the Hūnas, is said to have 'entered the region which blazes with Kailāśa's lustre'. (2) Mt. Kailāśa is a spur of the Gangri range, which lies at its foot in the south-west. (3) The success of the crown prince against the Hūnas (4) seems to

(1) Yāj. II 151; Manu 8. 246-7.

(2) H. C. Trans. p. 132.

(3) Dey. G.D.A.M.I. p.82.

(4) H. C. Trans. p. 165 "....arrow-wounds received in battle while conquering the Hūnas.....".

have been the basis of Bāṇa's phrase 'Hūṇaharinakeśarī',⁽¹⁾ when describing Prabhākaravardhana's achievements, since the same simile is again used when referring to the despatch of Rājyavardhana against the Hūṇas by his father.⁽²⁾ The fact that the Hūṇa trouble did not recur in Harṣa's reign also supports the view that the Prince Rājyavardhana attained success in his campaign against the Hūṇas. These observations may provide a tentative answer to Majumdar's doubts as to whether any conflict took place between Rājyavardhana and the Hūṇas, and if so what was the result of the campaign; it ^{also} answers his query whether Bāṇa in his pithy phrases alludes to the prince's own expedition, or to a previous one led by his father.⁽³⁾

Prabhākaravardhana is also said to have come into conflict with the King of Sindhu. The area indicated by the term 'Sindhu' has varied from age to age. On the basis of Hsüan-tsang's account, it may be said that the whole region from just below the great confluence of the Satlej and the Indus down to the sea was politically subject to Sindh.⁽⁴⁾ But by Hsüan-tsang "Sin-tu" proper is said to have been about 1167 miles in circuit with its capital at 'P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo'⁽⁵⁾

(1) H. C. Chapter IV (beginning)

(2) H. C. Chapter V (beginning) Text p. 'Hūṇānhantum harināniva harirharineśakisoram.'

(3) H. C. I. P. Vol. III p. 98

(4) Watters II pp. 256-261. The Kingdoms of A-tien-po-chih-lo, Pi-to-shish-lo and A-fan-t'u are said to have been subject to Sin-tu; also see Watters' map, and Beal II pp. 276, 279+280

(5) op. cit. pp. 252-4.

1. which Cunningham⁽¹⁾ attempts to identify with Abhijānavapura or Alor. Bana is probably referring to this Kingdom of Sindhu which lay not very far south-west of Sthānvīvara, and was one of the three kingdoms of Takka, Sindhu and Gurjjara which touched the boundary of the Vardhana Kingdom on the west. In the next reign, Harṣa is also said to have won fame by pounding a king of Sindh.⁽²⁾ The King of Sindh against whom Prabhākaravardhana fought must have been a member of the Rāi dynasty, probably Rāi Sihras II, the son of Rāi Sāhasī.⁽³⁾

(1) A.G.I. pp.286-7; According to various Persian works, including Chach-Nāmā, the capital city of Sindh was 'ar-Rūr'.

(2) H. C. Trans. p.76.

(3) Tuhfat ul-Kirām (A.H.1181, A.D.1784) translated by Lt. Postands in J.A.S.B.Vol.XIV,1845, Pt.I pp.78-79. According to Chach-Nāmā (Extracts trans. by Elliot, Vol.I pp.131-211) and Tarikh-i-Ma'sūmī (extracts trans. by Elliot Vol.I pp.212-252) the three princes of the Rāi dynasty who immediately preceded Chach were Rāi Dīwāji, Rāi Sihras and Rāi Sāhasī, but the Tuhfat-ul-Kirām mentions two more - Rāi Sihras II and Rāi Sāhasī II. It also says that the Rāis ruled for a period of 137 years from A.D.485-622, which gives a fair average of 27 years rule to each King. But Chach, the successor of the Rāi, was a Brahman, whereas Hsuan-tsang, who visited Sindh in C.A.D. 640, describes the ruler of Sindh as a Śūdra. It is therefore possible that the rule of the Rāis may have continued until C.A.D.640. The caste of the Rāis also cannot be decided with full certainty. Chach is said to have defeated and killed a King named Mahrāt, who was a relation of Sāhasī, and who is variously described as a chief of Jaipur, Modhpur or Chitor. According to H.C.Ray (D.H.N.I. Vol.I p.5 fn.1 & p.6) he was quite likely of the Mori or the Maurya tribe, which claimed to belong to the Paramāra branch of the Rajputs. One tradition, however, in connection with the ancestry of Candragupta Maurya, regards the Mauryas to be of Śūdra origin. (H.C.Raychaudhuri P.H.A.I. pp.266-7). Is it possible that Hsuan-tsang, on the basis of the latter tradition, described the Rāi King as belonging to the Śūdra caste? Another possibility is that the Rāis were not of Maurya but of Tak origin. Several writers state that the Tāks were one of the three aboriginal and therefore non-aryan races of Sindh. The question of their origin has been dealt with at length by Cunningham (Arch.Sur. of Ind. Rep. Vol.II p.8. ff). Hsuan-tsang continued.....

The Gurjaras, with whom Prabhākaravardhana had to contend may be located in Rājasthān. The question of their origin is controversial. According to K. M. Munshi⁽¹⁾ they were the inhabitants of a large homogeneous country named Gurjaradeśa, whose isolated fragments still retain the old name in one form or the other, such as Gujarāt, Gujar-khān or Gujarān-vālā. Most scholars, however, are of the view that the term Gurjara primarily denoted a people, and that the name has been retained by the modern Gujars. It is also believed by many historians that the Gurjaras are of foreign origin. According to Vincent Smith,⁽²⁾ the most important element in the Hūna group of tribes, after the Hūnas themselves was that of the Gurjaras. The sudden rise of the Gurjaras in the sixth century A.D., and the attempt on the part of their royal dynasties to fabricate a mythical origin, does lend support to this view. The problem, however, has been repeatedly discussed by scholars.⁽³⁾ We agree with R. C. Majumdar in that "this question must be left open until more definite evidence is available".⁽⁴⁾

Continuing fn.(3) from previous page ..
 may have classed the Rāis among Sūdras because of their non-aryan Tākā origin. Mahrat may have been an ancestor of the Rawat Chāta Tāk, who played an important part in the wars of of Prthvirāja, according to Chānd Bardāi.

- (1) this page. The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, Pt III p.1 ff.
 (2) Early History of India (4th Ed.) p.427
 (3) I.H.Q.X pp.337,613; XI p.167; XIII p.137, Ind. Cul. I p.510; IV p.113; J.B.O.R.S. XXIV p.221
 (4) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.65.

The founder of the earliest Gurjara Kingdom of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Mandor, five miles to the north of Jodhpur) was Haricandra, the beginning of whose rule may be placed in C. A.D. 550. The Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka⁽¹⁾ further tells us that Haricandra had four sons, of whom the third, Rajjila, had a son named Narabhāṭa and a grandson named Nāgabhāṭa. R. C. Majumdar fixes their period of rule from C. A.D. 550-640.⁽²⁾ Prabhākaravardhana may have made incursions into Gurjara territory towards the end of Rajjila's reign or soon after his death in C. A.D. 590.

The Vardhana King is also said to have made war against the ruler of Gāndhāra. This Kingdom was situated on the western bank of the Indus, and is to be identified with the Kan-to-lo country of Hsüan-tsang.⁽³⁾ The pilgrim records that the country, with its capital at Puruṣapura, (Peshawar) was subject to Kāpisa. The northern part of the region that lay between Gāndhāra and the kingdom of Sthāpviśvara was subject to the King of Kashmir at the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit in Cir. A.D. 631.⁽⁴⁾ But the political set-up of the Panjab may have been quite different in the time of

(1) E.I. XVIII p. 87 ff. cf. also J.D.L. X p. 1 ff.

(2) H.C.I.P. Vol. III p. 65.

(3) Watters I p. 198 ff, *Beal I p. 97 ff*

(4) The principalities of Taxila, Simhapura, Urasa, Punch and Rājapura are said to have been subject to Kashmir.

Prabhākaravardhana. Kashmir's power had increased only after the accession of King Durlabhavardhana of the Kārkoṭa dynasty in C. A.D. 601. The principalities which formed part of the Kashmir kingdom in Hsüan-tsang's day were in Kāpisa's orbit of influence, and may have been treated as an extension of their province of Gāndhāra.⁽¹⁾ Cheh-ka or Takka, another Punjab kingdom, stretching between the Beas and the Sindh, with its principalities in the south-west of the province at the time of Hsüan-tsang, may not have had well defined boundaries or important status in C. A.D. 590, when Prabhākaravardhana made incursions in his neighbouring kingdoms. The Vardhana monarch's northern raids may thus have given Bāṇa a basis for his statement about the Gāndhāra campaign, which, when used in the context of victories over Sindhu, would make the conquest of the north-western frontier seem complete.

According to Bāṇa again, Prabhākaravardhana was 'the destroyer of the skill of the Lāṭas' and, 'an axe to the creeper - the royal fortune of the Mālavas'. Lāṭa, the strip of land between the rivers Māhi and the lower Tapti, at this time may have formed a part of the domains of the Kalacuris, who held power during the latter half of the sixth century. The Mauryas of the Konkan, who used the era of

(1) For the political history of Afghanistan and Punjab at this time see H.C.Ray. DH.N.I. Vol.I pp.59-63.

A.D.248-9, probably acknowledged their supremacy. The second Kalacuri King Śankaragana issued a charter from his vāsaka, or residence, at the victorious camp of Ujjayinī in A.D.595. ⁽¹⁾ He is credited with re-instating many kings who had lost their thrones. The Kalacuri victory over Ujjain was won at the expense of Mahāsenagupta, ⁽²⁾ who seems to have obtained some help from his nephew Prabhākara-vardhana in making an attempt to defend his territory. The despatch of a few military contingents by the Vardhana king against the power that ruled over Lata ⁽²⁾ has been exaggerated by Bāna to glorify the career of Harṣa's father.

Devagupta of Mālava, known to us from Harṣa's inscriptions and to be identified with the 'wicked lord of Mālava' who killed Grahavarman, ⁽³⁾ may have been one of the 'kings who were re-instated in their lost thrones' by the Kalacuri monarch Śankaragana. We have said before that Mahāsenagupta, after being expelled from Magadha, chose to live in Mālava because of his ^{possible} earlier connections with that region. ⁽⁴⁾

A collateral branch of Mahāsenagupta's line may have existed in Mālava for a long period, and Devagupta may have been a member of that line. He may have sided with Śankaragana against Mahāsenagupta and the former may have rewarded him with vassal kingship over Mālava. Though Mahāsenagupta was an old man and too weak to re-establish his authority over

(1) The Abhena plates E.I. IX p.296 (2) See above p. 38

(3) See above p.59.

(4) H.C. trans. pp.173, 178

Mālava, Prabhākaravardhana, with the ambition to increase his own power, seems to have championed the cause of his uncle. The battle he gave to Devagupta, though devoid of decisive results, seems to have formed the theme of Bāna's rhetoric. Mahāsenagupta, in this period of great distress, decided to send his two young sons to the court of Sthānviśvara. The event is alluded to both by Bāna⁽¹⁾ and the scribe of the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena.⁽²⁾

Prabhākaravardhana is said to have been a devotee of the Sun.⁽³⁾ He had many wives⁽⁴⁾ among whom Yaśovati⁽⁵⁾

(1) H. C. Trans. p. 119

(2) C.I.I. III No.42.

(3) Vide Harṣa's Records, E.I. I p.72, IV p.211, C.I.I. III p.232; H.C.Texts p.123, Trans. p.104; 'The King was by natural proclivity a devotee of the sun. Day by day at sunrise he bathed, arrayed himself in white silk, wrapt his head in a white cloth, and kneeling eastwards upon the ground.....'. The latter part of the details of the method of sun-worship seem to betray foreign, probably Persian, influence.

(4) This is mentioned several times in the Harṣacarita. See pp.107, 114, 144, 154, etc.

(5) Yaśomatī, according to Sonpat Seal Inscription C.I.I. III No.52.

was the chief queen.⁽¹⁾ By her, Prabhākaravardhana had three children, apparently a considerable time after his marriage. Bāṇa writes, "Solemnly at dawn, at midday, and at eve he muttered a prayer (to the Sun) for offspring".⁽²⁾ And again, offering an interpretation to the queen's dream, the king is reported to have said, ".....Our wishes are fulfilled. Our family goddesses have accepted you. In his graciousness the Sun will grant you.....three noble children".⁽³⁾ As may be gathered from certain indirect references by Bāṇa, Yaśovati's parents were alive not only at the time when the royal children were born⁽⁴⁾ but even at the time of Prabhākaravardhana's death.⁽⁵⁾ They do not seem to have belonged to a famous dynasty, for if that had been the case Bāṇa would certainly have taken note of it.⁽⁶⁾ Prabhākaravardhana may have died in his late

(1) H. C. Trans. p.153 and Harṣa's inscriptions.

(2) H. C. Trans. p.104

(3) op. cit. p.106

(4) op. cit. pp.106, 109

(5) op. cit. p.152

(6) According to Hoernle (J.R.A.S. 1903, 556) Yaśovati was the daughter of King Yaśodharman of Mālava. R.K.Mookerji (Harṣa pp.61, 64, etc.) agrees with this view, which is mainly based on similarity of names and on the facts that Yaśovati is said to have been born in a family rendered glorious by Dharma (H.C.Text p.167) and born of a brave father (ibid). This view is clearly defective because Yaśodharman of Mālava disappeared from the political stage of the country probably soon after A.D.533, the date of his inscription, whereas the Vardhana queen's parents lived until after the death of Prabhākaravardhana, in A.D.605-6.

fifties.⁽¹⁾ The queen's parents therefore must have had a fairly long span of life to have witnessed the death of their daughter and son-in-law.

The elder prince Rājyavardhana may have been born towards the end of the year A.D.586, because he is stated to have been nearing his sixth year when Harṣa, who was born on June 4, A.D.590,⁽²⁾ could just manage five or six paces with the support of his nurse's finger.⁽³⁾ Rājyavardhana's birth was celebrated by great jubilations in the capital.

The event of Harṣa's birth, however, is given more importance by Bāṇa, and a detailed account of it yields the following information. Harṣa, conceived in the month of Śrāvaṇa, was born in the month of Jyeṣṭha, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, the moon being in the Kṛttikā constellation,⁽⁴⁾ just after the twilight time. A Maga⁽⁵⁾ astrologer told the king that the child was born at a

(1) He may have been a young man of thirty when he came to the throne in Cir. A.D.580. His first child was born at the comparatively late age of thirty-six in Cir.A.D.586.

(2) C.V.Vaidya, J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol.24 pp.252-4; also, our appendix to this chapter.

(3) H. C. Trans. p.115.

(4) H. C. Text, p.128 'bahulāsu'

(5) For the Bhujakas or Magas see Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Hall's ed.) Vol.V p.382; P.V.Kane, Notes on the H.C. Ch.IV p.23.

conjunction of the planets which was fittest for the birth of a universal emperor. All the planets are said to have been in their exaltation at the time of Harṣa's birth, but the accuracy of this statement is questionable.⁽¹⁾

Unprecedented festivities followed the birth of Harṣa.⁽²⁾ Some interesting facts are revealed in Bāṇa's account of the celebrations. Prisoners were freed; shops were given up to general pillage. The royal treasury probably made good the loss incurred by the shopkeepers on such occasions.⁽³⁾ Wives of feudatory kings brought endless presents, consisting mostly of flowers, nuts and perfumes. 'The whole population of the capital set a-dancing'.

After another lapse of time, Yaśovati gave birth to a daughter, who was named Rājyaśrī. As the princess was conceived when Harṣa was not much more than a year old,⁽⁴⁾ the year of her birth may be fixed as A.D. 592.

The name of another scion of the Vardhana family is mentioned by Bāṇa. One Kṛṣṇa is said to have been a brother of Śrī Harṣadeva.⁽⁵⁾ He was probably a cousin of Harṣa, or his step-brother, born of one of the subordinate wives of

(1) Vaidya, J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol.24, p.252 ff, Kane, Notes on the H.C. Ch.IV p.24.

(2) Bāṇa H.C.Trans. p.110 ff.

(3) cf. Carlyle, Frederic, II 195. Vide H.C. Trans. p.111 fn.2

(4) H.C.Trans. pp.115. He 'could just manage five or six paces with the support of his nurse's finger'.

(5) H.C.Trans. p.40 Text p.52; cf. Kane, Notes on the H.C. Ch.II p.107.

Prabhākaravardhana.

About the time that Rājyaśrī was born (Cir.A.D.592) and the princes Rājyavardhana and Harṣa were respectively about six and two years old, Yaśovati's brother is said to have presented his son Bhaṇḍi, aged eight, to serve on the Vardhana princes.⁽¹⁾ This may have been done in order to earn the goodwill of the Vardhana monarch, at whose court the child also would have benefitted by gaining good education and training in military arts. Indeed, the King is said to have brought him up as yet another son. Bhaṇḍi, who became closely attached to the princes, seems⁽²⁾ to have served them capably and loyally throughout his life.

The three princes were thoroughly trained in archery, swordsmanship and other military arts. In Cir.A.D.601,⁽³⁾ when Rājyavardhana and Harṣa may have been approximately fifteen and eleven years of age, two Mālava princes, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, were introduced to the royal household to serve on the Vardhana princes. They are to be identified with the sons of Mahāsenagupta, the younger of whom is mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription of Ādityasena as one

(1) H. C. Trans. p.116.

(2) H. C. Trans.: Bhaṇḍi accompanied the princes on their campaign against the Hunas and stayed with Harṣa while the latter spent some time hunting on the skirts of the Himālaya (p.135). He accompanied Rājyavardhana in the attack against the King of Mālava (p.175). Harṣa ordered Bhaṇḍi to advance against the King of Gauda (p.224). Beal I p. Bhaṇḍi (po-ni) advised the statesmen of Kanauj to declare Harṣa as their King.

(3) See above p.123.

'who desired to associate himself with the glorious Harsadeva'.⁽¹⁾ The elder brother Kumāragupta's name is not included in the genealogical list supplied by the Later Gupta inscriptions, probably because he predeceased his younger brother Madhavagupta by several years. At the time of presentation Kumāragupta is stated to have been about eighteen years of age, neither very tall nor very short, while the younger prince, who may have been approximately sixteen, is said to have 'resembled in height and in dignity, a moving realgar mountain'.⁽²⁾ Their status seems to have been lower than that of Bhandi.⁽³⁾

A brief paragraph in the Harsacarita punningly alludes to Harṣa's achievements, among which one is said to have been that he, 'a man of might, loosened a king⁽⁴⁾ from a circling trunk and abandoned an elephant'.⁽⁵⁾ In the next sentence, Harṣa is stated to have 'anointed a (one) Kumāra'. According to the commentator Śankara, who may have composed his work after the ninth century but before the twelfth century A.D.,⁽⁶⁾ the King in question in the first sentence was one Kumāra or Kumāragupta, while the elephant's name was

(1) C. I. I. III No. 42.

(2) H.C.Trans. p.121, text, p.139 'Manahśilāśaila'

(4) 'Bhūbhrt', a minor king. For words used for vassal kings and feudatories in the H.C. see p.

(3) Compare H.C.Trans. p.117 and p.121.

(5) H.C.Trans. p.76, Text p.91.

(6) P.V.Kane, Notes on the Harṣa Carita, Intro.pp.XLI-XLII.

Darpaśāta.⁽¹⁾ It is quite possible that 'the King' of the first sentence and 'the prince' of the second sentence both bore the name Kumāra, but Bāna, in order to avoid repetition, employed different words for expression. The King, whom Harṣa saved from death, known as Kumāra or Kumāragupta according to the commentator, may well have been the elder Mālava prince of that name. The prince or Kumāra said to have been anointed by Harṣa may well have been the King of Kāmarūpa. Hsüan-tsang mostly refers to him by the name Kumāra, which he states was his title,⁽²⁾ while Bāna variously addresses him as Bhāskaravarman, Bhāskaradyūti and Kumāra, besides using such adjectives for him as Prāgjyotiṣeśvara and Kāmarūpādhipati.⁽³⁾

(1) The commentator's identification of the prince may be correct. The dangerous elephant, however, cannot be believed to have been Darpaśāta, Harṣa's favourite elephant, 'the lord of elephants, his (the King's) external heart, his very self in another birth' (H.C.Tr.p.51). The author of the H.C., Bāna, when describing his visit to the royal camp pitched near Manītara along the Ajiravātī (R.Rapti in Oudh) informs us that Darpaśāta adorned Harṣa's stables. Soon after his return, Bāna's cousin anxious to hear more about Harṣa's exploits from one who had recently returned from the court, enumerated some of the King's achievements, including these we have just mentioned. As only an old and well-known event may be expected to have been referred to by Bāna's cousin, it does not seem possible that the elephant abandoned to the woods was the same as Darpaśāta. As well as being the King's favourite, Darpaśāta is stated to have been an excellent war-elephant (ibid) which reduces the possibility of its being given up even if it endangered (not destroyed) the life of a dear friend. The commentator seems to have offered this identification only because he knew the name of one of Harṣa's elephants.

(2) Beal II p.196.

(3) H.C.Trans. pp. 211, 217, 219, etc.

Cowell and Thomas, wrongly assuming Kumāra to be a common noun in this context, have translated it as prince, even when the holder of this epithet is specifically stated to be the lord of Prāggyotiṣa. (1)

The anointing of Kumāra, to deserve mention among Harṣa's achievements, must have been an event of considerable significance. A formal 'abhiṣeka' of the subordinate king by the paramount lord in person in those times was apparently an event worth being recorded both by the bestower and the recipient of royalty, because, as well as being a privilege for the latter, it denoted his importance in the eyes of the ruling monarch. An instance of this is to be found in (2) the references to Droṇasimha's abhiṣeka in the Valabhi grants. For the overlord too such an event merited commemoration because it recorded the fact of his overlordship over a powerful contemporary. This seems to have been Bāṇa's motive in recording Kumāra's abhiṣeka by Harṣa. (3)

Despite some scholars' remarks to the contrary (4) there is no reason to doubt that the King of Kāmarūpa acknowledged the superiority of Harṣa. In addition to the much-quoted episode regarding the invitation to the Chinese pilgrim, (5)

(1) H. C. Text p.214, Trans. p.211

(2) C.I.I. Vol.III No.38

(3) H.C.Trans. p.76.

(4) Majumdar, H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.113; Tripathi, p.104.

(5) Life p.172.

which definitely demonstrates Bhāskaravarman's inferior status, the words of the Kāmarūpa envoy, as recorded by Bāṇa even before Harṣa's 'digvijaya', prove that, much to his dislike, Bhāskaravarman or Kumāra thought it prudent to supplicate for Harṣa's friendship on terms that were more favourable to the latter. When Harṣa accepted Kumāra's request for an alliance the latter's messenger is reported to have said, "Even your Majesty's generous words give a pain to my noble master. The good are timid of dependence and....especially our haughty Vaiṣṇava line.... When towards servitude (of Harṣa?) inclined by overwhelming calamity (Śaśāṅka's power?).... a man makes up his mind to enter a palace, as a malefactor a cow-dung fire, to the burning torment of all his frame";⁽¹⁾ and at the end of his ^{long} speech, which is indeed a mirror to Bāṇa's own proud character, "Therefore let your majesty, approving of our love, bethink himself that the King of Prāgjyotiṣa died only a few days ago".⁽²⁾ The speech intervening between these two quotations describes the state of the King's dependants who suffer from an utter loss of self-respect.⁽³⁾

(1) H.C.Text p.221, Trans. p.219

(2) op. cit. pp.225; 223.

(3) Bāṇa displays a very clever use of his skill at punning in this section. The first sentence may also be interpreted to convey: nothing but an eagerness to see one another will hereafter pain the two kings, while the last may be taken to mean: ...consider the king of Prāgjyotiṣa...arrived. The long intervening speech describing the insults borne by the King's subordinates, however makes it quite clear that the author intended his readers to understand the meaning we have given above in the text.

Incidentally the fact of Harṣa being a skilled lute-player, yet

We do not think that the Kumāra of the sentence 'Devenābhiṣiktaḥ Kumāraḥ' is intended for either of the two Mālava princes. (1) Regarding the status of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta at the court of Harṣa, we feel that the scions of the Later Gupta family, who presumably served the Vardhanas loyally throughout their lives, were rewarded respectively with the governorship of eastern Mālava and Magadha at a certain time in their careers. It is possible that, after his successes in the west, Harṣa bestowed on Kumāragupta the vassal kingship of the region round Vidiśā in Mālava,

fn (3) from previous page cont'd
 unnoticed by scholars seems to be alluded to here by Bāṇa for a third time in his book: '(Sevakah) Viṇādaṇḍaḥ Koṇābhiḥhāteṣu' (text p.225) cf. 'Caranagrāhinīm vihasyā koṇenā līlālasaṁ śīrasi tādayantaṁ' (text p.75). See also p.74. The last two references occur in the description of the King as observed by Bāṇa when the latter visited the royal camp on the Ajiravatī.

(1) this page...
 The use of the words 'Bhūbhrtah' and 'Kumāra' by Bāṇa in the sentences in question and the commentator's identification of the former with Kumāragupta, shows that the second 'Kumāra' was not intended for the Mālava Kumāragupta, and that Bāṇa used 'Bhūbhrtah' for the latter in order to avoid confusion. 'Kumāra' could hardly have been intended for Mādhavagupta, the first part of whose name would lend itself to punning as easily as Kumāra.

the place where Mahāsenagupta may have ended his career. (1)

Mādhavagupta seems to have been rewarded by the governorship of Magadha after the death of Pūrṇavarman. (2) The fact that Harṣa is mentioned as the Lord of Magadha by the Chinese sources does not clash with this assumption. Certain references in the Harṣacarita demonstrate that there was a close tie of friendship between Harṣa and Mādhavagupta. Bāṇa writes that while searching for his sister in the Vindhya forest Harṣa proceeded to the hermitage to make enquiries 'leaning with his right hand on Mādhavagupta's shoulder..(and) attended by a few tributary Kings'. (3) 'The son of the King

(1) Mālava, due to its situation, was coveted by all the rising powers of north, south and west India. In our period it was first ruled over by Mahāsenagupta (on the basis of the identity of Mādhavagupta of the Harṣacarita with his namesake in the Aḥśad Inscription) whose hold was replaced first at Ujjain (Abhonā plates A.D.595-6) and then at Vidiśā (Vadner Grant A.D.608) by the Kalacuris. After the fall of the Kalacuris the Maitrakas gained control of Ujjain (Virdi Grant A.D.616). With the rise of the power of the Cālukyas, Mālava was over-run by Pulakeśin II (conquests made before A.D.634, the date of the Aihole Ins.). At this juncture Pulakeśin's ambitions contemporary Harṣa also decided to extend his empire in the west. His attack on Valabhi, to reach which kingdom he must have over-run Mālava, seems to have taken place soon after the Cālukya monarch swept over this region. (see above p.). Harṣa seems to have brought under his control the eastern parts of Mālava of which the region around Ujjain was given over to the Maitraka King, (Dhruvasena II's Nogava Grants A.D.639 & 640), while the region around Vidiśā, the last abode of Mahāsenagupta, was bestowed on Kumāragupta. A Cālukya governor, however, continued to rule from Khetaka (Vijayarāja's grant of A.D.643).

(2) Beal II pp. 118-9 and 174 Sinha p. 263, taking Hsüan-tsang literally, presumes that Pūrṇavarman was an independent ruler of Magadha, who followed Śaśaṅka and was the predecessor of Harṣa as a ruler of that region. We believe that Pūrṇavarman was a vassal of Harṣa and may have been granted by the

See next page for rest of (2)
and also (3)

of Mālava',⁽¹⁾ sitting behind Harṣa in the royal court when Bāṇa made his first acquaintance with the King, may well have been Mādhavagupta. The re-establishment of the Later Gupta authority in Māgadha by Mādhava's son Ādityasena is easily explained if we presume that the former was trusted with the governorship of Magadha, after Pūrṇavarman's death, during the latter part of Harṣa's reign. The elder Mālava prince Kumāragupta, whose name is omitted in the genealogical list of the Later Guptas, may have died after a short governorship of Eastern Mālava, probably several years before the death of Harṣa or Mādhavagupta.

While the five young companions ranging between the ages of eleven or twelve to eighteen advanced towards maturity, practising themselves in the arts of war, the young princess "Rājyaśrī gradually grew up in daily increasing familiarity with friends expert in song, dance....and with all accomplishments. In a comparatively limited period she came to maturity".⁽²⁾ A period of eighteen months to two years may by now have elapsed after the presentation of the Mālava princes. Rājyaśrī could not have been much more than eleven when elaborate pre-

Continuing (2) from previous page ..

governorship of Magadha, perhaps because he was a scion of the Maukhari family. There are several instances to prove that the so-called 'Kings' of Hsuan-tsang were in fact feudatories in Harṣa's Maṇḍala; also see below p.

(3) H.C.Trans. p.235.

(1) this page...
op. cit. p.66.

(2) H. C. Trans. p.121.

parations for her marriage started at Sthānviśvara. At the time of her marriage she is said to have been 'not too tightly embraced by womanhood'.⁽¹⁾ She was to be given to the Maukhari King Grahavarman, who among other princes had sent his envoy to sue for the princess. The prospect of an alliance with an important ruling family may have been one of the causes why Prabhākaravardhana gave away his daughter in marriage at such an early age. The King of Sthānviśvara himself praised the family of the Mukharas as one that stood at the head of all royal houses and was worshipped like Śiva's footprint by all the world.⁽²⁾ Grahavarman is said to have been the eldest son of Avantivarman, which supports the epigraphical evidence that 'Suva....' was another, apparently younger son, of the latter, who for some time ruled over parts of Magadha.⁽³⁾ Grahavarman, being the heir to the throne, succeeded his father at Kanauj. Bāṇa's detailed description of the marriage preparations throws a flood of light on the social customs and everyday life of that period. A few references of political interest also occur in this section. We are told that the feudatory kings and their queens assisted in several ways in the manifold tasks entailed in getting ready for the great occasion.⁽⁴⁾ The wedding may

(1) H. C. Trans. p.128.

(2) op. cit. p.122

(3) Ep. Ind. XXIV, p.283 ff.

(4) H.C.Trans. p.124 'Even Kings girt up their loins and busied themselves in carrying out work set as tasks by their sovereign'.

have taken place in Cir.A.D.603-4, when Rājyaśrī was nearly twelve years of age.

An onerous family responsibility having been satisfactorily carried out, the King once again busied himself with matters concerning the state. We are told that Rājyavardhana's campaign against the Hūnas was organised sometime after Rājyaśrī's marriage. In a description of the prince a few months later, after his father's death in Cir. A.D.605, we are told that he 'had a faint growth of beard', ⁽¹⁾ which seems to be a slight understatement, because Rājyavardhana was nineteen years old in A.D.605. He may not have been much more than eighteen when he set out from Sthānviśvara against the Hūnas. He is described as of an age which 'now befitted him for wearing armour'. ⁽²⁾ As we have said earlier, Rājyavardhana's success against the enemy is testified not only by Bāna's remark to this effect but also by the fact that Harṣa's reign was free from the Hūna menace. The princes' campaign was, however, cut short owing to the King's fatal illness. But Rājyavardhana could not reach the capital in time to bid farewell to his father. In fact he did not arrive at Sthānviśvara until several weeks after Prabhākaravardhana's death: "The

(1) H. C. Trans. p.166, Text p.176

(2) op. cit. p.132.

horror of the days of impurity had passed.. Gradually the lamentations subsided.. Grief was becoming a moral theme... only poetry preserved his (the King's) name".⁽¹⁾ The chief queen Yaśomatī voluntarily entered fire to avoid the grief of widowhood.

The King's illness must have been sudden and brief, not only because Harṣa, who had accompanied his brother to the skirts of the Himalayas and was thus at a comparatively short distance from the capital, though he returned at once was only just in time to see his father alive, but also because Rājyaśrī did not come to her parents' home to see her sick father. After her father's death she was prevented from doing so because of the surprise attack on Kanauj. Yaśomatī, on having decided to embrace death before the expiration of her husband's life, is reported to have lamented her daughter, now settled in her father-in-law's house, with the words 'defenceless are you now', and to have cried out to her elder son far away: 'Alas dear child! that I, all ill-fated, see you not'.⁽²⁾ Thus, of Prabhākaravardhana's three children, only Harṣa was present at the time of his parents' death.

(1) H. C. Trans. pp.164-5.

(2) H. C. Text, p.166.

A series of events occur after Prabhākaravardhana's illness which lead us to believe that it was intended by the King that Harṣa should succeed him on the throne, and that Rājyavardhana never actually became the ruler of Sthānviśvara. The short period between Prabhākaravardhana's death and Harṣa's accession was so crowded with important events and Rājyavardhana's end came so abruptly that the question of the succession never came into the limelight, and when it solved itself after the elder prince's death it was forgotten, no doubt because Harṣa so desired. Hsüan-tsang's testimony in this connection can be disregarded, because he met Harṣa very late in the latter's career, and even the fact of Harṣa's connection with Sthānviśvara has escaped his notice. Harṣa gives Rājyavardhana his rightful place in his inscriptions, because there had never been any quarrel between the brothers and the rules of filial piety were observed by paying respect to the harmless memory of his deceased elder brother. Bāṇa, however, was a keen observer and an astute writer, whose subtle suggestions convey much that may not have pleased his patron if stated explicitly. It is indeed most surprising that the series of incidents which suggest that Rājyavardhana did not succeed to the throne of Sthānviśvara have hitherto escaped the notice of scholars.

Bāṇa relates two speeches of the King which he made shortly before his death, and which, since they are addressed

to the younger son, are very curious indeed: "Upon you my happiness, my sovereignty, my succession, and my life are set, and as mine, so those of all my people..... You bear marks declaring the sovereignty of four oceans... you..., through the merits of a whole people, are born for the protection of all the earth....."(1) and again, "to declare this earth yours is almost a vain repetition.....'succeed to this world' is a command too mean for an intending conqueror of both worlds....'support the burden of royalty' 'protect the people'.....'annihilate your foes'".(2)

From these words it would seem in fact that Bāṇa believed that Prabhākaravardhana verbally bequeathed the sovereignty to Harṣa, over-riding the elder son Rājyavardhana. The mention of the heir-apparent is conspicuous by its absence in the last speeches of the King. The fact of his being away is not lamented, nor are enquiries about his well-being made of Harṣa, who had been the last to see him. Instead of being told to loyally serve his elder brother, who would be expected to succeed his father according to common practice, Harṣa was asked to 'support the burden of royalty', and 'protect the people'.

(1) H. C. Trans. pp.142-3, Text p.158

(2) op. cit. pp. 155-6;

Subsequent events, as narrated in the Harṣacarita, add to the suspicion created by the above episode. After the King's death, it is related that Harṣa mused thus: "Pray heaven my brother, when he learns of our father's death....may not.....assume two robes of bark! or seek a hermitage ~~as~~ a royal sage!Though his....eyes brim with a flood of tears, may he yet look upon the lordless earth!" It seems strange indeed that, while the King's 'favourite' son gradually recovered from the grief of his father's loss, it was feared that the rightful successor to the throne would be so overwhelmed by sorrow that he would shun responsibility and seek peace in a hermitage.

Possibly the King in his last wish named Harṣa as the successor, but, as the wish had been expressed in Rājyavardhana's absence, and as the King was now dead, Harṣa found himself in a difficult and delicate situation regarding his relations with his brother. Rājyavardhana does not seem to have rebelled against his father's wishes. Ordinarily one would expect a fratricidal war on such an occasion, but, keeping in mind the princes' lack of years, when greed is not well-rooted in human nature, the strange thoughts in Harṣa's mind and Rājyavardhana's unusual reaction to his father's death seem to be a means whereby Bāṇa gave an apparently logical explanation of the events. The speed at which events moved after the death of Prabhākaravardhana and the deluge

of calamities on the house of the Vardhanas, ending finally in the removal of Rājyavardhana himself from the scene, indeed facilitated the court poet's task of hiding any unpleasant episodes that might have taken place at this time. As we have said earlier, Harṣa too, in his inscriptions, reveres the memory of his elder brother, to whom he refers as his predecessor in the most respectful terms.

To follow the thread of our interesting story, however, Harṣa's fears regarding his brother's reaction to their father's death proved to be true. On his return, "all the kings being admitted" to their presence, Rājyavardhana is reported to have told Harṣa⁽¹⁾ that, though according to universal practice he should ascend the throne,⁽²⁾ yet it was some native cowardice.....which had rendered him subject to the flame of filial grief,....his firmness had departed and he could not undertake the responsibility of governing the people. His mind sought to avoid glory, which he describes unfavourably 'as if belonging to outcastes, of no noble sort, banner-borne, crimson of hue, covered with many shrouds of the dead'.⁽³⁾ He therefore resolved to go to a hermitage 'to purge....this fond defilement which clings to my mind....', while he told Harṣa to take charge of the affairs of the state.

(1) H. C. Trans. p.169

(2) Ibid.

(3) H.C.Text p.180. The Sanskrit words may here mean 'of no Aryan lineage, outside the (noble) family, polluting assemblies'; or perhaps destined to be borne on the poles of the outcastes. Also see Cowell and Thomas H.C.Trans. p.170 & fn3 and Kane's notes on the Harṣacarita p.125.

According to Bāṇa, Harṣa was deeply hurt and grieved at the words of his brother, and decided to transgress his commands. But all these thoughts, we learn, were unexpressed and only went through Harṣa's mind as he stood with downcast eyes reflecting on the situation. His first suspicion is thus described: "Can my lord have been angered when away from me by a hint received from some envious wretch". The question naturally arises at this point as to why Bāṇa does not represent Harṣa as openly declaring his wishes to his brother in front of all those present. It was not out of mere respect that Harṣa did not expressly oppose his brother's desire, because only a little later we find him protesting at being ordered to stay behind while Rajyavardhana set out with Bhaṇḍi to attack the Mālava forces. Bāṇa probably wishes to convey in a garbled manner that Harṣa was not disinclined to obey the wishes of his father, which involved over-riding the claims of the 'Yuvarāja'.

The sudden news of the Mālava King Devagupta's attack on Kanauj⁽¹⁾ at this juncture, ultimately proved to be the

(1) H.C.Trans._p.173. 'Suddenly a distinguished servant of Rājyaśrī, Samvadaka by name, entered....' He reported to the princes that 'on the very day on which the King's death was rumoured, his majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja. There is moreover a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and seize this country as well.....'.

very event which, though not intended for the purpose, solved any difficulties that may have arisen with regard to the succession of Sthānviśvara. The desperate Rājyavardhana instantly made his choice between the hermitage and the battlefield, the danger of death and oblivion being always inherent in the latter.⁽¹⁾ "This task, my noble brother", he said, "is my royal house, this my kin, my court, my land, my peopleLet all the Kings and elephants stay with you. Only Bhaṇḍi here must follow me with some ten thousand horse". Harṣa is said to have protested at being left behind and made a request to be allowed to accompany his brother, whereupon the latter said, "why....by putting forth too great an effort add importance to a foe too slight for our power?...Moreover, for the province of your prowess you have already the earth

(1) H.C. Text pp.183-4. Bāṇa is well-known for making allusions, by means of obscure similes, to forthcoming events. In his passage describing Rājyavardhana's fury at the news of his brother-in-law's death and his sister's imprisonment several sentences, hitherto unnoticed, suggest the forthcoming event of Rājyavardhana's death: "On his....brow a deadly frown broke forth, darkening like Yama's sister...." (trans.p.174); "his fresh wounds, bursting in his fierceness, spurted a bloody dew...." (Ibid). In the same context it is also said that, 'on his cheeks appeared an angry flush, as if sovereignty, delighted by his taking up arms, were celebrating an ovation by scattered vermillion powder'. May this be interpreted also to mean that the Sovereignty (Rājyalakṣmī) of Sthānviśvara was pleased that Rājyavardhana who had now taken up arms would die in the battlefield and the question of succession be settled.

with her amulet wreath of eighteen continents....For a world-wide conquest you, like Māndhātṛ, shall grasp, in the shape of your bow.....a comet portending the world's end of all earthly kings. Only, in the unbearable hunger which has been aroused in me for our enemies' death, forgive this one unshared morsel of wrath. Be pleased to stay."

"Such was his answer, and on the same day he set out to seek the foe".⁽¹⁾

This speech makes it quite clear that, though Rājyavardhana abandoned his plan to take to the life of a hermit and chose instead to go to the battlefield to serve his royal house, he stuck to his resolve to relinquish his right of succession in favour of his younger brother. He did not take advantage of the emergency, but set out to redeem his family's honour, as indeed an able and loyal general would, at the command of his king. As is evident from Bāṇa's account, Harṣa made no reply to this last speech, but apparently remained silent, as he is reported to have done at Rājyavardhana's earlier outburst.

Whether Rājyavardhana ever intended to exercise his rightful claim to succeed to the throne we shall never know. On returning to his kingdom after a long period of fighting

(1) H. C. Trans. p.176

with the Hūnas, wisdom lay in agreeing to Harṣa's succession, without arousing any suspicion in the mind of his brother or in those of the nobles of Stānviśvara who were presumably on the side of the late king's favourite son, because of Prabhākaravardhana's express wish that Harṣa should be the king. But how could Rājyavardhana's claim have been justifiably over-ridden? He was physically fit to govern and had proved his skill as a warrior in the battle against the Hūnas. Therefore he may well have nourished the secret desire to muster up a following and assert his claim at a later date. It is useless to speculate as to whether selflessness or discretion motivated Rājyavardhana's actions, but Bāṇa's account unmistakably conveys that the elder Vardhana prince never wielded the 'Rājadaṇḍa'.

Be this as it may, Rājyavardhana succeeded in avenging the death of his brother-in-law by routing the Mālava army, in which encounter Devagupta seems to have been killed, because we hear no more of him. But Rājyavardhana also was not destined to live long, because we are told that though he had won an easy victory against the Mālava King, he "had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the King of Gauda, and then, weaponless, confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters".⁽¹⁾ The King of Gauda

(1) H.C.Trans. p.178.

was Śaśāṅka, who no doubt was an ally of Devagupta in this adventure. Bāṇa mentions the occurrence of 'Gauḍa (1) trouble' at Kanauj in his account of Rājyaśrī's misfortunes.

The question has been raised as to why Devagupta met Rājyavardhana without his ally Śaśāṅka. Perhaps, it is said, because Śaśāṅka arrived a little too late on the scene of action. The facts, however, seem to be that Devagupta's army was met by Rājyavardhana some distance west of Kanauj, because we have earlier learnt that, deeming the army leaderless, 'the villain' proposed to invade and seize Stāṇviśvara as well. Śaśāṅka was left in charge of Kanauj and Rājyavardhana's death 'by allurement through false civilities', in the camp of the enemy, must have taken place at Kanauj. Bhaṇḍi does not seem to have pursued the work of his master, but returned with the booty, to report the matter to Harṣa. Śaśāṅka doubtless would have tried to strengthen his hold on the important kingdom of Kanauj, but his plans were cut short by the diplomatic moves of his immediate neighbour Bhāskaravarman. Indeed, it may have been the fear of an attack on his native kingdom, in addition to Harṣa's launching the scheme of 'Digvijaya', that forced the Gauḍa king to leave his prize and hurry back to his capital.

The accounts of Bāṇa and Hsuan-tsang and the wording of Harṣa's inscription, in explaining the death of Rājyavardhana,

(1) H.C.Trans. p.250.

differ in form but agree in substance. Some scholars have tried to make much of the difference in words in order to prove that Rājyavardhana's death, though caused by Śaśāṅka, may not have been the result of a treacherous intrigue.⁽¹⁾ We have already quoted Bāna's words in this connection.⁽²⁾ In Harṣa's inscriptions it is stated that Rājyavardhana gave up his life at the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to a promise. According to Hsüan-tsang, Rājyavardhana was led to subject his person to the hands of his enemy owing to the fault of his ministers.⁽³⁾ The Life informs us that Śaśāṅka enticed Rājyavardhana (by setting a trap) and murdered him because he hated the superior ~~military~~ talents of his enemy.⁽⁴⁾

The commentator of the Harṣacarita, whose evidence, though not unquestionable, should receive due recognition, gives more details about the causes that led to the Vardhana prince's death. According to him "Śaśāṅka enticed Rājyavardhana through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand, and while the unlucky king, with his retinue, was participating in a dinner in his enemy's camp, he was killed by the Gauda King in disguise".⁽⁵⁾

(1) A.K.Maitra, Gauḍarājamālā (intro); R.C.Majumdar in H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.121 ff.

(2) See above p. 143

(3) Beal I p.211 / Y 3a / p. 233 b

(4) The Life p.83, ~~translated from the original by Mr. D.C.Lau.~~

(5) H.C.I.P. Vol. III p.122.

The four statements about Rājyavardhana's death, though supplied by four different sources, are rather supplementary than contradictory to each other.⁽¹⁾ Rājyavardhana, deceived by Śaśāṅka's friendly overtures, may have agreed to go to the enemy's camp with only a few followers, not suitably equipped for a combat. As mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, it was no doubt a grave error on the part of the ministers - Bhaṇḍi and other important officers - to allow their King to place complete trust in the words of the enemy. Indeed, the primary concern of all efficient ministers was to protect their master's person from any outside danger. Yaugandharāyana, the loyal minister of Bhāsa's plays, blamed himself for his King's arrest by the enemy. The promise, adherence to which cost Rājyavardhana his life, may have been to go to his enemy's camp in a friendly manner so that a matrimonial alliance might ultimately be achieved.

The mistake committed by Rājyavardhana was rather clumsy. Moreover, his readiness to agree to an alliance with an enemy who had caused him political as well as personal injury, appears rather unseemly. Was Rājyavardhana anxious to secure allies because he wanted to press his claims for the throne of Sthānviśvara? Śaśāṅka, on the other hand, may have avoided an open fight with Rājyavardhana because the Kanauj forces found a new leader in the latter, and by rallying round him, must no doubt have considerably increased

(1) According to R.C. Majumdar (H.C.I.P. Vol. III pp. 122-3) the various statements lack consistency.

the strength of his army. That Śaśāṅka achieved his aim of annihilating the enemy by unfair means is also apparent from several later statements of Bāṇa. For example, Skandagupta, advising Harṣa to exercise necessary precautions before setting out for 'Digvijaya', related to the latter several episodes in which simple, careless, trusting or eccentric kings had lost their lives because their enemies had applied treacherous means to overpower them, disgracing the norms and rules of fair war.⁽¹⁾ It may thus be concluded that Rājyavardhana did not die on the battlefield, but was killed as a result of an intrigue on the part of Śaśāṅka.

The chapter containing the account of Rājyavardhana's activities after his return from the Hūṇa campaign and that of his death, the news of which prompted Harṣa to launch a Digvijaya campaign, is entitled "The King's Vow", which no doubt refers to Harṣa's vow to uproot Śaśāṅka and subdue other independent kings. Thus, whatever the difficulties regarding succession after his father's death, on the news of his elder

(1) H.C.Text p.198, Trans. p.192. "...the story of (Deva) Rājyavardhana has given you some inkling into the despicable characters of vile men. Thus do national types (Jānapadānām) vary, like the dress, features, food and pursuits of countries, village by village, town by town, district by district, continent by continent and clime by clime. Dismiss, therefore, the universal confidingness, so agreeable to the habits of your own land and springing from innate frankness of spirit, of disasters due to mistaken carelessness frequent reports come daily to your Majesty's hearing".

brother also having been removed from the scene, Harṣa assumed royal power as the new King of Stāṇviśvara as a duty as well as by right.

Bāṇa represents Harṣa as expressing his grief, on hearing the news which was a great blow to his family prestige, merely in an outburst of abuse against Śaśāṅka, who, he said, would be punished by destiny for his foul deeds, but, his aspect is said to have become furious at this insult: 'like Janamejaya intent upon burning all sovereigns'.⁽¹⁾ Even if excited to conduct a strong campaign against his enemies, the inexperienced, young and distressed monarch needed words of wisdom and encouragement at this juncture. They were spoken by an aged friend of Harṣa's father and a former commander-in-chief, Simhanāda, who is reported to have said: "My lord... you have a forest of strong arms.....stout are these walls whose panels are soldier's breasts. Think not, therefore, of the Gauḍa King alone: so deal that for the future no other follow his example.....Relinquishing the grief, proper to cowards, appropriate....the royal glory which is your heritage".⁽²⁾ Whatever the actual words of the esteemed noble, they no doubt assured Harṣa of the unstinted support of his ministers. The fact that Harṣa launched a wide-scale offensive against Śaśāṅka and other lesser independent kings with his limited resources

(1) H.C.Trans. pp.178-80.

(2) H.C.Text pp.190-2, Trans. pp.182-5.

not only speaks of the king's courage but also of the wisdom and undivided loyalty of his officers, an aged and experienced one of whom advised Harṣa to act while the matter was still fresh. The death of Devagupta had already weakened Śaśāṅka's position, and the unexpected moves on the part of the King of Kāmarūpa, while dangerous for Śaśāṅka, proved of immense value to Harṣa. His position strengthened by an alliance with the eastern neighbour of Śaśāṅka, and his power increased manifold by occupying Kanauj, Harṣa was able to over-run the greater portion of northern India in a comparatively short period.

However, on having made up his mind to launch the 'Digvijaya' campaign, Harṣa gave instructions to his 'Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta', the minister of peace and war, to issue a proclamation to that effect.⁽¹⁾ To his officer-in-charge of the elephant corps he gave orders to get ready the war-elephants,⁽²⁾ the most important division of the royal army. Preparations for war started in right earnest. In addition to the standing militia, soldiers must have been recruited on a mercenary basis, for we are told by Hsuan-tsang that "....just as many troops are enlisted as are necessary for the purpose. The payment is there to be had by whoever

(1) H. C. Trans. p.187

(2) op. cit. p.191.

is willing to enlist".⁽¹⁾ In Bāṇa's description of the army, we meet the 'Balādhikṛtas', the 'Pāṭipatis', the 'Kaṭukas', the 'Stānapālas', the 'Cārabhaṭas',⁽²⁾ and several lesser officials, such as the attendants of elephants and horses, in addition to the host of Sāmantas and feudatory kings who had come with their retinues to serve their overlord. The army was made bulky by the presence of the King's and the feudatories' harems:⁽³⁾ the former, however, must have been negligible at this stage. 'Grhacintakas',⁽⁴⁾ the housebuilders or the house designers, responsible for the planning of the temporary camps, as well as the steward of the King's household with his whole paraphernalia,⁽⁵⁾ formed a part of the royal army.

(1) See below p. 305

(2) H.C. Text pp. 204-7. These offices may be translated as those respectively of the Commanders, superintendents or guards of the places assigned to them, officers of the elephant corps, officers of the cavalry and foot-soldiers; also see below p.

(3) H.C. Trans. p.201; Text p.206.

(4) Ibid p.200; p. 204.

(5) Ibid pp. 200 & 208; pp. 204 & 211. "....kitchen appurtenances with goats attached to thongs of pigskin, a tangle of hanging sparrows and frequarters of venison, a collection of young rabbits, potherbs, and bamboo shoots, butter-milk pots protected by wet seals on one part of their mouths which were covered with white cloths, baskets containing a chaos of fire-trays, ovens, simmering pans, spits, copper-sauce-pans, and frying-pans."

The army travelled approximately nine miles a day, because we are told that the beginning of the march was announced by beating the drum as many times, eight in this case, as the number of 'krośas' covered by the army in the day's march.⁽¹⁾ Following Manu, Śukra considers 2,000 yards as the length of a krośa.⁽²⁾ According to Kauṭilya, Harṣa's army, from the point of view of the mileage covered by it, would be considered not much below the army of best quality, which was supposed to cover two yojanas, or just over ten miles, a day.⁽³⁾

According to Bāṇa, the emissary of the King of Kāmarūpa met Harṣa at his first encampment. Along with a message of friendship from his master he also brought a number of very valuable presents for Harṣa, the most prized being a royal umbrella named Ābhoga.⁽⁴⁾ Being a remarkable treasure from the family heirlooms, and having once belonged to the remote ancestor of Bhāskaravarman's illustrious family, Naraka, it was no doubt the choicest gift that the King of Kāmarūpa could have sent to Harṣa, whose friendship he was anxious to win. The importance of this alliance, which was arrived at by a message to which substance was added by the gift of the 'chhatra', is attested by the fact that Bāṇa entitles his chapter containing the account of this event as

(1) H.C. Text p.203, Trans. p.199

(2) Śukra.1-194 "Hastaiśchatuḥsahasrairvā manoh krośasya vistarah"

(3) Kaut. Artha. Bk.X, Ch.2

(4) H.C.Trans. p.212.

"Gift of the Umbrella". We have earlier shown that Bhāskaravarman was the subordinate of the two allies in this treaty.⁽¹⁾ The fact that Kumāra opened the negotiations itself shows that his need for an ally was greater than that of Harṣa: consequently the former, though a welcome ally, would occupy an inferior status in the pact. The words of Kumāra's envoy are chosen with great skill, but they unmistakably show that though his noble lineage made it distasteful to him, the King of Kāmarūpa was very anxious to obtain Harṣa's acceptance of his proposal.⁽²⁾ The fact that Bhāskaravarman accepted the status of a subordinate ally when Harṣa was still in the very early stages of his royal career shows that he must have remained so throughout the reign of Harṣa, whose power and prestige increased as the years advanced. Hsüan-tsang's ^{biographer} relates an episode which effectively depicts Harṣa's superior position with regard to his allies.⁽³⁾ Some time after his Orissa campaign, when Harṣa was staying in his camp at Kajaṅgala, he heard that the Master of the Law was staying with the King of Kāmarūpa. Harṣa may not have been very pleased with the news because he had invited Hsüan-tsang before but the pilgrim had been unable to comply with his wishes. However, Harṣa despatched a message to Kumāra bidding

(1) See above p. 128-9

(2) See above p. 129

(3) Life - p. 172.

him send the priest to his court immediately. Kumāra replied, "He can take my head, but he cannot take the master of the law yet". "Send the head; that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it here", was Harṣa's answer, which made Kumāra realise his folly. Immediately, he got ready a huge army to adorn the camp of his overlord, and set out for Kajaṅgala with the Chinese pilgrim. When Kumāra presented himself before Harṣa the latter is said to have completely ignored the unpleasant incident, and made enquiries about Hsuan-tsang only.⁽¹⁾ This shows that, when so required, Harṣa exercised his authority without restraint, but by using it discriminately, he achieved the best results.

After the departure of the Kāmarūpa envoy Harṣa is said to have "advanced by ceaseless marches against the foe". He may have been halfway between Stānvīśvara and Kanauj when "one day he heard from a letter-carrier that Bhaṇḍi had arrived with the Mālava King's whole force, conquered by the might of Rājyavardhana, and was encamped quite near".⁽²⁾ On meeting his trusted friend and courtier, Harṣa naturally enquired from him the facts about Rājyavardhana's death and the news of Rājyaśrī. He was told that, "after Rājyavardhana had been killed and Kānyakubja had been seized by a man

(1) Life p.172

(2) H.C.Trans. p.223.

named Gupta (Guptānāmnā), Queen Rājyaśrī burst from her confinement and with her train entered the Vindhya forest. Several seekers had been sent after her but none had yet returned".⁽¹⁾

According to the information that Harṣa was later able to obtain from her sister's attendants, Rājyaśrī was released from the prison by a noble (kulaputra) named Gupta.⁽²⁾ The Gupta referred to by Bhaṇḍi therefore was a different person from the kulaputra Gupta of the second statement. The Gupta who killed Grahavarman, seized Kanauj, and imprisoned Rājyaśrī was no other than Devagupta, the King of Malava, who in turn was defeated by Rājyavardhana. The noble named Gupta who released Rājyaśrī from bondage may have been a courtier of one of the invading kings, who felt that the harmless queen was being unnecessarily punished. Had he been a noble of the Maukhari court, his loyalty and faithfulness would probably have been praised.

On learning from Bhaṇḍi that Rājyaśrī's whereabouts were yet unknown Harṣa decided to lead a search party himself in the Vindhya forest, leaving Bhaṇḍi in charge of the expedition. The Vindhya region extended well up to the outskirts of the Gangetic Doab kingdoms, and it may not have taken Rājyaśrī very long to reach the obscure forest area where she could keep her identity hidden for a long time. She could have

(1) H. C. Trans. p.224.

(2) op. cit. pp.250-1

fled to her native Stānvīśvara for shelter, but this alternative may not have been considered very safe in view of the fact that Kanauj had already been occupied, and the rumour was current that the invaders planned to attack Stānvīśvara as well.

Before leaving his camp with a small chosen retinue, Harṣa inspected the spoils won by Rājyavardhana: captive soldiers and women, elephants and horses, jewels and ornaments and other royal insignia such as lion-thrones, chowries and umbrellas that had once formed part of the Mālava King's treasure. Leaving the booty in the charge of 'the officers who had their respective functions', ⁽¹⁾ Harṣa set out on horseback to the Vindhya forest. After a few days' wandering in the jungle he was met by the son of a forest feudatory accompanied by the nephew of an important general, the leader of all the village chiefs. These non-aryan feudatories of the Vindhya region offered their services to the king and led him to the hermitage of a Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra, who was also the childhood friend of the dead King of Kanauj, Graha-varman. Divākaramitra must doubtless have been a most versatile and liberal minded scholar of exceptional ability, for his hermitage is represented as being full of disciples

(1) H. C. Test p.227 "Yathādhikāramādikṣadadhyakṣān"

of various beliefs and descriptions.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa and Divākaramitra, with dignity, humility and Buddhist inclination in common, quickly developed a liking for each other.⁽²⁾ Through one of the latter's disciples the King learnt that a lady of noble birth in distress was about to enter fire in the presence of her attendants. Harṣa hurried to the spot and

(1) H. C. Text p.236-7, "various Buddhists....., Jainas in white robes....., followers of Viṣṇu (Bhāgavatas),ascetics who pulled out their hair, followers of Kapila,....followers of Carvaka (Lokayatikas).....Kāṇāda.....and of the Upaniṣadsassayers of metals (Kārandhamibhiḥ), students of the various legal schools (smṛtijñaiḥ),and of the Purāṇas, adepts in sacrifices....., all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying and explaining....". This passage of Bāṇa is indeed an illuminating guide to the methods of teaching and studying in our period.

(2) In addition to Hsüan-tsang's statements and Harṣa's play Nāgānanda, the Harṣacarita itself affords evidence of the emperor's love for Buddhism. We are told that Harṣa spoke of his intention to assume red robes, along with his sister, on the fulfillment of his vow to punish his enemies. (H.C.Text p.256, trans. p.258). Bāṇa, being a Brahman, would not have mentioned this had there not been a substantial basis for it. Buddhist ideas seem to have gained influence over the Vardhana family of sun-worshippers during the latter part of Prabhākaravardhana's reign, because Harṣa's inscriptions describe Rājyaṣṭrī as 'Parama Saugata'. Rājyaṣṭrī may have imbibed Buddhism in her father's or in her husband's home. Harṣa's acquaintance with and admiration for the Law therefore began at an early stage. There is ample evidence, however, of his liking of and respect for other religions.

rescued his sister just as she was preparing to mount the funeral pile. On recovering from her first outburst of emotion at suddenly finding her brother, Rājyaśrī sought his permission to 'assume the red robe', as she had been stopped from embracing death, which, she said, was the right course for a woman without a husband or a son. Harṣa, who had abruptly cut short his march against an important foe, and who, not trusting the task of the search for his sister to his officers, had come in person to the Vindhya forest, would naturally exert all pressure to take her back with him. He therefore declared that after fulfilling his vow of destroying the enemies of his house both he and his sister would assume red robes. In the meantime, while he discharged his vow and consoled his subjects, Harṣa wanted to be allowed to cherish his young and distressed sister for a while, and requested the Buddhist sage to comfort her with his righteous discourses, while she remained by his side until the accomplishment of his object. The next morning the King left the Vindhya forest with Rājyaśrī and Divākaramitra, for his camp on the bank of the Ganges.

The sudden change in Harṣa's plans, on learning from Bhaṇḍi that Rājyaśrī was no longer a prisoner at Kanauj but had fled for shelter to the Vindhya forest, needs to be explained. It is not possible to believe that simple

brotherly affection made Harṣa leave the charge of an expedition, which was being led against a really dangerous and powerful foe, and which, being the first of his royal career, would have essentially affected his status by its results. Harṣa gave so much importance to Rājyaśrī's recovery that he did not consider it sufficient even to depute Bhaṇḍi to this task; instead he ordered him to take charge of the expedition against the Gaṇḍa. It was no doubt Harṣa's object to establish his hold over Kanauj, for which Rājyaśrī's presence at the capital was of vital importance, that motivated his actions.⁽¹⁾ There was probably Pūrṇavarman,⁽²⁾ who may have been a scion of the Maukhari family, to contend with: other claimants, members of Sūryavarman's line⁽³⁾ might also have come forward with their claims. In such circumstances it was important to muster the support of the Kanauj nobles by showing the utmost respect to their royal family and concern for the defence of their kingdom now deprived of its leader. It seems that Harṣa asked Bhaṇḍi to proceed slowly to Kanauj and prepare the ground for his claim to the Maukhari throne, while he himself was to follow later in company with the

(1) H. C. Trans. p.257, "My sister...must be cherished by me.... even if it involves the neglect of all my royal duties!"

(2) See below p.131

(3) See above p. 50

rescued queen. We learn from Hsüan-tsang's account that the important minister, Po-ni or Ba-ni, whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the ministers and officials said, "The destiny of the nation is to be fixed today.....(Harṣa) is humane and affectionate and his disposition filial and respectful. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority. Let each one give his opinion on this matter".⁽¹⁾

Tripathi has suggested that Po-ni of Hsüan-tsang was not the same as Bhaṇḍi of Harṣacarita, stating that "beyond the similarity in sound there is no justification for" the identification. He adds that Bhaṇḍi was a leading figure in the Stāṇviśvara court, but not at Kanauj.⁽¹⁾ We cannot agree with this hypercritical theory. In view of the limited phonetics of Chinese Po-ni is a very reasonable form for the Sanskrit Bhaṇḍi. As Hsüan-tsang shows no knowledge that Harṣa had any connection with Stāṇviśvara it is hardly likely that he would connect Bhaṇḍi with that place. Bhaṇḍi as the liberator of Kanauj might be expected to exert great influence with the local dignitaries. We therefore believe in the identity of Po-ni and Bhaṇḍi, which seems a much more feasible hypothesis than that of postulating a Kanauj noble otherwise unknown to history with a name very similar to that of Harṣa's cousin.

(1) ~~B. I.~~ p. 211 | V. p. 3A

All the ministers are said to have been in agreement with Bhaṇḍi and exhorted Harṣa to assume authority, but he modestly made excuses. On being pressed he sought the advice of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who oracularly advised him to accept power in order to be able to ^{revive the law of the Buddha which had been} ~~punish~~ ^{destroyed by} the anti-Buddhist Śaśaṅka, but not to use such royal insignia as a lion-throne or an imperial title. Thereupon Harṣa assumed royal office under the name Kumara Śilāditya. (1)

Though Hsuan-tsang seems to have been unaware of the fact that Harṣa's paternal kingdom was Stānviśvara and relates the above incident with regard to his succession to the throne after the death of his brother, not after that of his brother-in-law, these circumstances must be referred to the situation that arose when the Kanauj throne fell vacant after the death of Grahavarman. There could have been no need for an important minister to exhort the officials to decide in favour of Harṣa's succession to the throne of Stānviśvara. (2)

(1) Beal I p.210-11./V 3b-4a

(2) A passage (H. C. Trans. p.51, Text p.70) describing Harṣa as "embraced by the Goddess of the Royal Prosperity who took him in her arms and, seizing him by all the royal marks on all his limbs, forced him, however reluctant, to mount the throne - and this though he had taken a vow of austerity and did not swerve from his vow, hard like grasping the edge of a sword,..." has sometimes been quoted to corroborate Hsuan-tsang's account. We, however, concur with Kane (Notes on the H. C. Ch.II, p.139) that Bāṇa alludes to no such happening in this passage. He is merely indulging in rhetoric. Śaṅkara's commentary on this passage, though long, does not throw any useful light on the topic.

A large army, Rājyaśrī's presence, and Bhaṇḍi's canvassing succeeded in obtaining for Harṣa the throne of Kanauj with the full consent of her ministers. Indeed, the Fang-chih represents Harṣa as "administering the government in conjunction with his widowed sister".⁽¹⁾ From the Life we learn that Rājyaśrī was seated behind the King, presumably in an open court, to listen to a discourse on Buddhism.⁽²⁾ No indigenous source refers to the practice of a joint government in this case, but if the Fang-chih has recorded a true fact it has indeed preserved an important piece of information. A joint government of this nature was not traditional, and Harṣa invented a unique practice to suit his purpose.

Mastery over Kanauj must have greatly increased both Harṣa's power and prestige, and considerably facilitated his task of further expansion. We shall now discuss the topic of his conquests, and the extent of his empire.

(1) Vide Watters I p.345.

(2) Life p.176.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTENT OF HARṢA'S EMPIRE

Unless the empire was as extensive as that left by Candragupta Maurya for his son Bindusāra, or by Candragupta II for his son Kumāra Gupta I, the ambition of the newly enthroned king was invariably to add more territory to the existing kingdom. Harṣa readily found a pretext for conquest in the death of his elder brother, Rājyavardhana, at the hands of the Gauda King Śaśāṅka. Strengthened by his hold over Kanauj, which was henceforward to be his capital, and with his army reinforced, Harṣa Śīlāditya started his eastward march, traversing the districts that lay between Kanauj and Gauda. The concluding passage of the Harṣacarita describing the sunset metaphorically alludes to bloody wars and the fall of Śaśāṅka, which encouraged Harṣa to make even greater conquests.⁽¹⁾ According to the

(1) H. C. Text p.258, trans. p.260. "Then the evening appeared.. the ocean had its waves dyed in the evening glow as if it were once more crimson with the blood of the demons... At the close of the evening-tide, the moon was brought to the King as a respectful offering by the Night as if it were the imperdonated Glory of his Race bringing him a cup from the pearl mountain, to slake his boundless thirst for fame or the Glory of the Kingdom (Rājyaśrī) bringing him the stamp of primeval King on the silver patent of his sovereignty, to encourage him in the resolve to bring back the golden Kṛta age, - or the Goddess of the Future conducting a messenger from the White Dvīpa to animate him to the conquest of all Dvīpas."

Buddhist work, the Ārya Manjuśrī-Mūlakalpa, also, Harṣa "defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka) (who)....was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (thenceforth). He (Harṣa) returned, having been honoured in that kingdom of the Mleccha".⁽¹⁾ It seems that, continuing his march from Kanauj and winning the allegiance of the petty rulers through whose territories he passed, Harṣa ultimately reached Gauda and inflicted a defeat on Śaśāṅka. That Harṣa's aim was not achieved by a mere show of force and that the two armies met each other in the battlefield is also borne out by the Buddhist work, which, because of its distaste for killing, feels the necessity of justifying Harṣa's act: "Adopting the duty of Kṣātra, with the sense of personal injury and indignation he, though kind, prone to religion, and learned, kills many and becomes an oppressor of living creatures, for the reason of being engaged in the duty of chastisement".⁽²⁾

Hsüan-tsang's statements regarding Harṣa's early conquests are in line with Bāṇa's and the M. M. K.'s observations on this topic. According to the Chinese chronicler, "as soon as Śīlāditya became ruler he got together a great army, and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection.

(1) M. M. K. text verses 725-6

(2) M. M. K. verse 723 - 4.

Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had subjugated (or repulsed)⁽¹⁾ the Five Indias.⁽²⁾

Before discussing Harṣa's eastern conquests, which, because of the situation of Gauda, formed the first part of his 'digvijaya' campaign, it will be well to examine briefly the implication of the term 'five Indias' used by Hsüan-tsang. The earlier writers and translators⁽³⁾ have made no comments on it. Vincent Smith⁽⁴⁾ has for the first time commented on this term, merely quoting D. C. Sen, according to whom "the five Gauḍas or 'five Indias' were Svārasvata (the Panjab), Kānyakubja (Kanoja), Gauḍa (Bengal), Mithilā (Durbhanga) and Utkala (Orissa)."⁽⁵⁾ We are unable to discover, however, how or why Sen has identified the 'Five Gauḍas' with the 'five Indias', as he does not even specify the source of his identification of the term 'Pañca Gauḍa' or give any reason why it should be taken as synonymous with Hsüan-tsang's 'five Indias'. It is therefore difficult to justify Vincent Smith in using Sen's authority for identifying Hsüan-tsang's 'five Indias', without comment or criticism.

(1) The reading ch'ên meaning subjugated seems to us to be better than the reading chu meaning fought or repulsed.

(2) Watters I p.343.

(3) The first mention of the term in Stanislas Julien is in Vol.II p.251, in Beal Vol.I.p.213, in Watters Vol.I.p.343, in Ettinghausen p.45, in La Vallee Poussin p.79.

(4) p.353 fn.2 in the fourth edition

(5) Hist. of Heng. Lang. & Lit. p.385.

Later writers either repeat this identification without further enquiry or dismiss it without any comment.⁽¹⁾ We believe that Hsüan-tsang implies the whole of Northern India by his term 'five Indias' because in his account of Pulakesin's kingdom he states that "though Harṣa had gathered troops from the five Indias, he was unable to subdue the people of Mahārāṣṭra".⁽²⁾

For determining the names of the districts which were the first to feel the brunt of Harṣa's arms, Hsüan-tsang is the best guide. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the following countries lay between Kanauj, the capital of Harṣa, and Puṇḍravardhana, a city of Śaśāṅka's kingdom: Ayodhyā, Hayamukha, Prayāga, Kośāmbī, Viśoka, Śrāvastī, Kapilaśvastu, Rāmagrāma, Kuśīnagara, Vārāṇasī, ^{Chan-chu⁽⁴⁾} Vaiśālī, Vṛjji, Magadha, Īraṇaparvatā, Campā and Kajangala. Hsüan-tsang is silent about the political status of all these countries except in the case of Kapilavastu, ^{The capital and over ten cities of} which he says ~~were a~~ complete ^{Tuings} waste but in which each city had its own chief,⁽³⁾ and in the case of Magadha, where we are told that Śaśāṅka cut down the

(1) R. K. Mookerji p.29 fn.1, repeats the identification without quoting his source, but changes Svārasvata for Punjab to Svarāstra. Gaurishankar Chatterji p. giving this identification, adds that one reading of the Chinese text gives 'five Gaudas' for 'Five Indias', but we are unable to trace it. R.S.Tripathi p.80 mentions 'five Indias' without any comment.

(2) Beal II. p.257 ^{(4) means 'fighting lord' or 'lord of battle' identified with}

(3) Watters Vol.II p.1. } Ghāṣipur by Cunningham (A.G.I. p.502).
Beal II p.14 / II.76 }

Bodhi tree but Pūrṇavarman, 'the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha', restored it.⁽¹⁾ The unimportant district of Kapilavastu must have formed a part of Harṣa's kingdom, but the sanctity of this city may have won for it the privilege of running its government according to its traditional custom. Pūrṇavarman is more likely to have been a Maukhari than a Maurya, and the riddle of his identification, which has hitherto puzzled scholars, may be solved if we take note of the fact that the pilgrim has made these observations while giving an account of the vicissitudes of the celebrated Bodhi tree. Pūrṇavarman may have been the last of the race of Aśokarāja in the sense that he was the last to have restored the Bodhi tree "which had often been injured by cutting"⁽²⁾ and which had been also worshipped and restored to life by Aśoka-rāja.⁽³⁾ As we have earlier said, Pūrṇavarman seems to have been a scion of the Maukhari-kula who, it appears, was pacified by Harṣa, who occupied the traditional Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj, by being appointed the governor of the important province of Magadha. It is also possible that Pūrṇavarman, probably a descendant of 'Suva', the younger son of Avantivarman, known from his Nālandā seal, gained control of Magadha after Śaśāṅka's withdrawal from

(1) Beal II p.118/VIII.19a

(2) Beal II p.116

(3) op. cit. p.117

Kanauj and consequently from Magadha; but as Śaśāṅka's retreat was caused by Harṣa's rise to power, Pūrṇavarman must have become subordinate to Harṣa. Harṣa, whose general policy seems to have been to reinstate vanquished rulers, would in no case depose or disturb a ruler who could question his claim on his very capital. In fact, Pūrṇavarman may have been quite content to have been left with the governorship of Magadha, which, if he was 'Suva's' son, was his ancestral kingdom; and may have quickly averted his covetous eye from the throne of Kanauj, if he ever set it upon it, on Harṣa's rapid rise to power.

To give battle to Śaśāṅka at Puṇḍravardhana⁽¹⁾ Harṣa must have passed through Magadha. To hold court at Kajangala also he would have had to cross Magadha.⁽²⁾ We are also told that he built a bronze (t'u-shi) Vihāra at Nālandā.⁽³⁾ The first event certainly and probably the last two also took place during the lifetime of Pūrṇavarman. He may have died before A.D. 637, as Hsuan-tsang, who visited Nālandā in that year, refers to an image of the Buddha as "the work of Pūrṇavarmarāja of old days".⁽⁴⁾

(1) M. M. K. Verse 723

(2) Beal II p.193

(3) Watters II p.171; Life p.119

(4) Life p.119; Beal II p.174

More evidence is forthcoming of Harṣa's control over the eastern kingdoms we have just enumerated. According to Sir Richard Burn⁽¹⁾ the coins of Śīlāditya found at Bhitaura (Fyzabad district) are to be attributed to Harṣa, which confirms his suzerainty over the region of Ayodhyā. That Prayāga formed a part of the Vardhana empire is proved by the fact that Hsuan-tsang attended the sixth quinquennial Mokṣa Pariṣad of Harṣa's reign at that place.⁽²⁾ Śrāvastī's inclusion in Harṣa's domains is evidenced by his Madhuban inscription, which was issued from that city.⁽³⁾ "The king of the neighbouring state" who "deposed the ruler of Īraṇaparvata and gave the capital to Buddhist brethren, erecting in the city two monasteries"⁽⁴⁾ may well have been Harṣa. Kajangala, as we have already mentioned, was the site of Harṣa's temporary pavilion of wood and cut grass from where "he ^{dealt with} arranged the affairs of his different states".⁽⁵⁾

Before dealing with the other eastern countries which are mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim and were annexed by Harṣa at a later stage, it will be well to discuss

(1) J.R.A.S. 1906 pp.843-50

(2) The Life p.184

(3) Ep. Ind. I p.72

(4) Watters II p.178 Beal II p.187/X.1 b

(5) op. cit. p.183. Beal II p.193/X.4 b

the highly controversial question of Harṣa's suzerainty over Nepal for this country falls in the group of places lying between Kanauj and Bengal, and Hsüan-tsang claims to have visited it after seeing Vṛjji and before getting to Magadha.

It is, however, doubtful if the pilgrim ever got as far as Nepal. He does not tell us anything about his long journey of approximately 300 miles to and from Nepal. His description of the country itself is very brief. The Fang-chih, whose author may have obtained his information both from the Records and from the account of Wang Hsüan-tsê, gives us a more detailed description of Nepal. We agree with Beal and Watters that Hsüan-tsang may have collected his information on Nepal at Vṛjji. The Life also does not mention any place between Śvetapura (between Vaiśālī and Vṛjji) and Magadha. The pilgrim's statements about Nepal, therefore, as based on hearsay, may be subjected to critical examination.

The following facts about this country's political affairs are brought to light by Hsüan-tsang: "The King is a Licchavi Kṣatriya. His mind is well-informed and pure, and he is above worldly things. He has a sincere faith in the Law of the Buddha. In recent times there was a king called Aṃśuvarman, who was distinguished for his learning and ^{intelligence} ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on 'Śabdavidyā'; he esteemed

learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere".⁽¹⁾

Our main sources regarding the history of Nepal are, however, the local chronicles or the *Vaṁśāvalī*s, and the inscriptions of the Nepal Kings. Certain references in Chinese and the Tibetan histories also throw light on the history of our period. In settling the question as to whether Harṣa's sovereignty extended over Nepal, we shall make use of all these sources.

The protagonists of Harṣa's suzerainty over Nepal believe that Aṁśuvarman used the Harṣa era for dating his inscriptions. As the last known date of Aṁśuvarman's charter is 4 __,⁽²⁾ according to the Harṣa era, which started in A.D.606, the former may be believed to have lived until cir. A.D.650. But as Hsüan-tsang, who gathered his information in c. A.D.637,⁽³⁾ states that Aṁśuvarman was a former King of Nepal, the scholars cast serious doubts on

(1) Watters II p.84 translates the former part of this paragraph as: "the Kings of Nepal were Kshatriya Licchavis". As the Chinese does not distinguish between singular and plural number or past and present tense both translations may be considered correct but, as we shall later show, our interpretation, which agrees with Beal (II p.81), is more suitable in the present context. It would have been appropriate to use singular number and present tense in translating the passage, also because the pilgrim, it may be expected, would try to tell us something about both the past and present rulers of the kingdom. As Aṁśuvarman is said to have been an earlier King, the other statement may be taken as referring to the ruling monarch. / VII. 19a

(2) the second digit is doubtful but may be restored as 4. See the inscription of Vibhuvarman issued by favour of Aṁśuvarman. Indrajī No.8

(3) C.A.G.I. p.646

the pilgrim's report, which was after all based on hearsay. We agree with these scholars that Hsüan-tsang's facts are inaccurate: probably he was so confused by the unusual custom of dyarchy in Nepal that to make his account seem correct he allowed only one ruler on the throne of that country, but we differ with them in as far as they believe that Aṃśuvarman used the Harṣa era.

Two sets of Nepalese inscriptions, one belonging to Aṃśuvarman himself and the other to his co-ruler or nominal overlord, the Licchavi Śivadeva I, give us more information about the former's career.⁽¹⁾ Aṃśuvarman's five records have two digit dates, 30, 32, 34, 39 and 44, while these of his overlord are dated in the three digit Gupta era. The last known records of Śivadeva, containing a reference to Aṃśuvarman, bears the date 320 (A.D.639).⁽²⁾

According to the Tibetan tradition, Strong-tsan-Sgam-Po, the emperor of Tibet who was born in A.D.618, acceded to the throne in A.D.629 and died in A.D.698;⁽³⁾ married the daughter of the Nepalese King Aṃśuvarman, when she was sixteen. The marriage we presume took place in Aṃśuvarman's

(1) The Nepalese inscriptions have been edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler in I.A.IX (1880) p.163 ff, and have been referred to as 'Indraji No...'; by Lévi and Le Nepal Vol.III referred to as 'Lévi No...', and Bendall in Journey in Nepal p.72 ff referred to as 'Bendall No...'.
 (2) The Khopasi Ins. of Śivadeva I, Lévi No.12.
 (3) The Chinese records place Strong-tsan-Sgam-po's death in A.D.650.

lifetime to serve political ends. The same source also informs us that two years later the emperor married a Chinese princess. As the Chinese records date this latter marriage in A.D. 641, the matrimonial relation with Nepal must have been established in A.D. 639.

The Chinese history also yields the important information that in the period A.D. 643 - 47, when Li-yi-piao, the imperial envoy from China, was on his way to the court of Harṣa, he found the King Na-ling-ti-po, or Narendradeva, on the throne of Nepal. Narendradeva was the great grandson of Śivadeva, the grandson of Dhruvadeva and the son of Udayadeva. As the last known date of Śivadeva is A.D. 639 it is apparent that the rule of two generations was compressed in a very short period. We know from Nepalese sources that the Thākuri King Aṃśuvarman, ruling from Kailāśakūṭabhavana, and his Licchavi overlord Śivadeva, ruling from Mānagṛha, were succeeded respectively by Jisnugupta and Dhruvadeva. It is a strange coincidence that these two lost power or died simultaneously and Dhruvadeva was followed by his son Udayadeva. The latter's name is mentioned as a dūtaka in Aṃśuvarman's inscription of the year 39. Udayadeva was deposed by his younger brother, but the latter also only enjoyed power for a very brief period, because the Tibetan King intervened on behalf

of Udayadeva's son Narendradeva, whom he restored to his native throne as a vassal. Of all these successors of Āmśuvarman and Śivadeva, only Jisnugupta, the contemporary of Dhruvadeva, has left some records, one of them dated in the year 48,⁽¹⁾ presumably of the same era as that used by Āmśuvarman. It is known that Śivadeva's last inscription is dated in A.D.639; Āmśuvarman's inscription of the year 44 cannot be much later than this, because Jisnugupta was ruling in the year 48. The Chinese account shows that Narendradeva was reigning somewhere in the period 643-47.⁽²⁾ The intervening period filled by the reigns of Dhruvadeva, Udayadeva, and his younger brother was marked by family dissensions and the political intervention of Tibet. If we had ascribed Āmśuvarman's last known date to the Harṣa era and placed his death in A.D.650, instead of A.D.639, it would have been impossible to reconcile the statement of the Chinese history with the known facts of Nepalese history.

(1) Indrajī No.9.

(2) Majumdar, H.C.I.P. Vol.III, p.137-8, writes that the period of 70 years that elapsed between the dates of Narendradeva (A.D.643) and his son Śivadeva (A.D.714) appears too long and makes one doubt the identification of the father of Śivadeva with the Na-ling-ti-po of the Chinese records.

The gap, however, does not appear unnatural when we remember that Narendradeva was set on the throne of Nepal within less than half a dozen years after the death of his great grand-father, and may have been a mere infant at the time of accession.

The last but not the least important source which helps us to determine the year of Aṃśuvarman's last known inscription, bearing the date 44, is an astronomical datum revealed in his record executed in the year 34 in the intercalary month of Pauṣa.⁽¹⁾ Following the system of the old Āryasiddhānta,⁽²⁾ the month of Pauṣa intercalated in the period A.D.600-700 in four years, namely A.D.629, 648, 667 and 686.⁽³⁾ Of these four dates only the first, 629, is possible; therefore the date of Aṃśuvarman's last inscription marked 44 would be A.D.639.

Thus we see that four different sources of evidence, Śivadeva's inscriptions, the Tibetan tradition, the Chinese history and Aṃśuvarman's own records independently lead us to the same conclusion - that Aṃśuvarman's death took place in A.D.639. This result rules out the possibility that Aṃśuvarman used the Harṣa era for dating his inscriptions, for in that case his death cannot be placed earlier than A.D.650.

It still remains to be settled as to who founded the era of A.D.595 which served as a standard for Aṃśuvarman's inscriptions. S. Lévi first held the view that the dates in Aṃśuvarman's charters should be referred to an era commemorating his accession. But he discarded this theory

(1) "Prathama Pauṣa Sukla dvitīyā yāma". I.A.XV, p.338; According to the present system no intercalation is reckoned in Pauṣa or Mārgaśīrṣa, but that such intercalation was reckoned in the earlier period is confirmed by another inscription noted by Fleet (ibid).

(2) Sewell, Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar p.X.

(3) Ibid.

later on two grounds: firstly that no record of the king is dated before the year 30, and secondly that the inscription dated the year 30 seems to refer to the coronation of Amsuvarman. Lévi revised his views ⁽¹⁾ to postulate that Amsuvarman made use of the Tibetan era for dating his records. To support his theory, he brings the following facts to our notice. The Chinese record the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period, which falls between A.D. 581 and 601. According to de Guignes, the historian of the Hūnas, Tibet was under the rule of various kings until A.D. 589. The Dalai Lama, in certain letters written in the years 1789 and 1792, mentions respectively the dates 1203 and 1206, which would place the foundation of the Tibetan empire in A.D. 586. The Bengali era, counting A.D. 593 as its first year and popularly known as 'San', may also have originated, according to Prof. Lévi, from a Tibetan era. ⁽²⁾ The fact that a Nepalese princess was given away in marriage to a Tibetan emperor is also pointed out to prove that Tibet exercised political influence over Nepal at that time. Two years later the same emperor married a Chinese princess as well, but in this case mention is never made of the adoption of the Tibetan era by the Chinese.

(1) Le Nepal II pp.153-4.

(2) For a refutation of the theory concerning the use of a Tibetan era in Bengal, see Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S. 1936, p.172.

All the above facts taken together convince Lévi that, under the influence of Tibet, a new era must have been founded in Nepal in the decade of A.D. 580 to 590. The Tibetans counted their time in cycles and by periods.⁽¹⁾ They have had a fixed epoch of 403 years, before the introduction of the Hindu chronological system of "Kālacakra" in their country in A.D. 1025. The figure 403 is written in Tibetan in a chronogram, Me-kha-gua-tsho, which Lévi thinks is probably a mistake for Kha-me-gua-tsho, which would be interpreted as 430 and which when subtracted from 1025 would give us the correct date, A.D. 595 as the beginning of the era used by Aṃśuvarman for dating his inscriptions.⁽²⁾ But Lévi's doubt and presumption are unwarranted. Not only is the possibility of a mistake in this case reduced because 403 has been written in the form of a chronogram and not in figures, but also because "the period 403 is too solidly fixed and too well-attested for the interval, by noted events to premise a correction".⁽³⁾ 403 years before the Tibetan epoch of 1025 takes us to A.D. 622, which really is the first year of an era,

(1) Prinsep. Essays ii p.160, The Tibetan Calendar; p.289, The Buddhist chronology of Tibet; Waddell, Lhasa, p.449, The Tibetan year cycles. Csoma translated the Tibetan chronology composed in A.D. 1686, which clearly admits that the whole idea of era was absent in a Tibetan system.

(2) Lévi - Le Nepal II p.154. "595 can either be the year of the enthronement of the first King of Tibet - Loun-tsang so-loung-tsan or the year of the birth of Strong-tsan-sgam-po".

(3) Jayaswal J.B.O.R.S. 1936 p.174.

the Hijra era, which Tibet came to know of very early, having come in conflict with the Arabs in the first century of the Hijra. There is no trace in the Tibetan records of the establishment of a Tibetan era in any of the several years mentioned by Lévi between the period A.D. 580 - 595.

It is evident that Aṃśuvarman neither used the Harṣa era nor a Tibetan era in his inscriptions. When arguing in favour of the introduction of a foreign era into Nepal an important question should be satisfactorily answered before reaching a final conclusion: how could Aṃśuvarman's Licchavi overlord Śivadeva remain uninfluenced by the new forces and continue to use the Gupta era! In the logical sequence of events may it not be expected that the overlord would have adopted a certain change before his feudatory could follow him?

In our opinion Aṃśuvarman started his own era - the Thākuri era probably, from the date of his rule as a Mahāsāmanta. He first made use of it in A.D. 625, in his inscription dated year 30, which seems to refer to his coronation. In his year 44, or in A.D. 639, Aṃśuvarman appears to have adopted the full ceremonial title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, which is also preserved on one of his coins. (1)

(1) Cunningham C.A.T. XIII 5.

This was not a posthumous title given him by his successor Jisnugupta, as supposed by Bhawanlal Indraji and Lévi, who based their opinion solely on the evidence of Jisnugupta's inscription.

That Aṃśuvarman was powerful enough to start an independent era during the lifetime of his overlord who used a completely different 'saṃvat' is evident not only from Aṃśuvarman's own records but also from those of the Licchavi Śivadeva I. The latter's inscriptions eulogise Aṃśuvarman as "the one who destroyed the power of all enemies by his heroic majesty", ⁽¹⁾ "who quelled the unmeasured strength of the enemies by his own great and unsullied prowess", ⁽²⁾ "whose fair fame gained by the trouble he took in properly protecting the subjects pervades the circles of the quarters", ⁽³⁾ "who removed the darkness of ignorance by means of the light of the rays of the gems in the shape of his own virtues, who....by his devotional obeisance to the lotus feet of Bhava....uprooted the multitude of all enemies by....the strength of the pair of his own arms". ⁽⁴⁾ It is evident from these statements, and from others which reveal that several of the grants were made to 'fulfil the

(1) Indraji No. 5. I.A. IX p. 163

(2) Bendall No. 1. I.A. XIV p. 98

(3) Indraji No. 5.

(4) The Khopasi Ins. of Śivadeva I, Lévi No. 12.

latter's request or to honour his advice, that Aṃśuvarman was held in the highest esteem by Śivadeva, who seems to have been no more than the former's nominal overlord. The fact that Śivadeva himself honoured Aṃśuvarman's status by making him pay respects to 'Bhava' and not to himself, even though his name could easily have been used punningly as a synonym for Bhava, amply proves that Aṃśuvarman was a ruler of great strength. The wording of Aṃśuvarman's own inscriptions also shows that he exercised full sovereign rights within his own sphere. After the fashion of other independent monarchs he also made grants 'like former kings' and 'to be respected by future kings'. In the style of a full sovereign, he made obeisance to the Gods or to the feet of his father, not to his leige-lord. On his coins the epithet 'Śrī' alone was used. But, as may be expected, the Licchavi ruler, though grateful to Aṃśuvarman for keeping the enemies of the kingdom⁽¹⁾ in abeyance, continued to honour him as a 'Mahāsāmanta', thus maintaining the right of his overlordship over a Thākuri king. He would naturally not use his feudatory's era, but, realising the latter's strength, would let him use his own. Thus the evidence pointing to

(1) They may be the Ābhīras who invaded the Licchavi kingdom towards the end of the sixth century A.D.

Amśuvarman's ability and power strengthens our view that for dating his records he made use of neither the Harṣa nor the Tibetan era, but of his own, the Thākuri era.

The supporters of the view that Harṣa's domains included Nepal put forth yet more arguments in favour of their theory.

An inscription of Jayadeva II⁽¹⁾ dated 153 (A.D. 759 if dated according to the Harṣa samvat) records that his mother Vatsadevī was the daughter of a Maukharī chief Bhogavarman and the daughter's daughter of the Later Gupta King Ādityasena of Magadha. As the date 66 of Ādityasena's inscription⁽²⁾ is ascribed to Harṣa's era, and as the difference of 87 years between the dates of Ādityasena and Jayadeva is fairly close to the number 78, the average duration of three Indian generations as reckoned by Indraji, the date of Jayadeva's inscription is also referred to the Harṣa era by these scholars.

If we remember that the relationship between Ādityasena and Jayadeva was based on the mother's side in both generations and that their countries were many miles apart, the chances of the use of the same era by both become very slender indeed.

(1) Indraji No. 15. I. A. IX p. 168

(2) C. I. I. III No. 42.

It is further pointed out that the Bais Rājput Kings of Nepal referred to by the Vāṁśavalīś may have been Harṣa's kinsmen whom he left behind after his conquest of that country. The force of this argument rests on Cunningham's explanation of Hsuan-tsang's statement that Harṣa belonged to the Fei-she or the Vaiśya class. According to Cunningham, Harṣa, because he was a celebrated ruler, must have belonged to the Kṣatriya caste: probably he was a Bais Rājput whom the pilgrim mistook for a Vaiśya ruler. But Cunningham's suspicion that Hsuan-tsang committed a mistake does not seem to be well-founded. It is clear from the Records that the Chinese chronicler was always particular in mentioning the caste of the ruling kings. It may be presumed, therefore, that it was his practice to make careful enquiries on the subject. He can hardly be expected to have made any mistake in the case of Harṣa, whose caste must obviously have been well-known in his day.

Yet another reference in the Vāṁśavalīś is taken to allude to Harṣa's conquest of Nepal. The Nepalese chronicles record that one Vikramāditya conquered the country just before the reign of Aṁśuvarman. It is said that this title, reminiscent of great conquests, could have been applied to Harṣa only in that period, and the preservation of this legend in the Vāṁśavalīś is a proof that Harṣa carried his

arms as far as Nepal. But the Nepalese Chronicles are quite unreliable for purposes of chronology, and place the reign of Aṃśuvarman himself in 101 B.C., which we definitely know to be inaccurate; this reference, quite unsupported by any other source, may not be taken as a proof to support the theory of Harṣa's rule over Nepal.

Attention has sometimes been drawn to a sentence in the Harṣacarita, according to which Harṣa exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains,⁽¹⁾ as referring to Harṣa's inroads in the hilly tracts of Nepal. Mookerji, in fact, quotes it to prove Harṣa's suzerainty over both Nepal⁽²⁾ and Kashmir.⁽³⁾ But it is not satisfactory to build an argument on the support of a vague and general statement, without further corroboration. Harṣa's empire included several districts situated at the foot of the Himālayas, and some indeed, such as the region crossed by Rājyavardhana to reach the kingdom of the Hūṇas, well within the Himālayan region. We think, however, that Bāṇa's remark alludes to Harṣa's expedition to Kashmir, because the Chinese pilgrim has recorded the seizure of a Buddhist relic by Harṣa from the King of Kashmir.⁽⁴⁾

(1) H. C. Text p.91. Trans. p.76

^{Harsha -}
(2) p.30

^{Harsha -}
(3) p.40

(4) Life p.183. / p.248 b

Nepal thus was outside the pale of Harṣa's empire and does not seem to have been conquered by him either in the course of the long eastward march organised to chastise Śaśāṅka soon after his succession or at any later period of his reign.

The battle of Puṇḍravardhana referred to in the M. M. K. (1) restricted the field of Śaśāṅka's activities to the south-east of Bengal, because for the rest of his days Kumāra of Kāmarūpa on his east and Harṣa on his west continued to grow in power, the former to some extent deriving his strength from the latter.

Having achieved his object, which served as a pretext for widescale conquest, we presume that Harṣa returned to his new capital of Kanauj. His eastern march had yielded great results inasmuch as the petty 'Sāmantas' of the whole region flanked by Kanauj on the west and Bengal on the east, had submitted to his authority. These Sāmantas had first owed allegiance to the Maukharis and then, for a brief period, to Śaśāṅka, but the power of both these houses was now overshadowed by Harṣa, who made a supreme bid for the overlordship of ^{nearly} the whole of Northern India.

Having replenished his army at Kanauj, it is probable that Harṣa set out for a march of inspection and consolidation

(1) M.M.K. verse 723.

of the western kingdoms. The districts of the region lying between the Satlej and the Ganges already formed part of his paternal kingdom of Sthānviśvara, but the prestige of the Vardhanas had suffered some decline, owing to the activities of Devagupta and Śaśāṅka. Though Rājyavardhana quickly redeemed the honour of his house, by inflicting a decisive defeat on the King of Mālava, and Harṣa, too, succeeded in establishing his superiority over Śaśāṅka, a march of inspection was probably necessary to reassert his authority over the subordinate Sāmantas, to suppress hostile elements and extend his arms to neighbouring regions hitherto not under his supremacy.

In Hsüan-tsang's account of this part of the country, as of the rest of India, some districts are described as being governed by a 'king', usually belonging to one of the four Aryan 'Varnas', while in the case of others the mention of a ruling authority, local or otherwise, is completely omitted. Districts of the former class have been considered principalities outside Harṣa's control by one school of historians, ⁽¹⁾ while the other school, ⁽²⁾ though deeming Harṣa the master of the whole of northern India, gives no

(1) e.g. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, pp.114-119;
R. C. Majumdar, I.H.Q. 1929, p.229 ff.

(2) e.g. Niharranjan Ray I.H.Q. 1927, p.769 ff.

historical justification for including these principalities in Harṣa's kingdom. The answer to this question is to be found in the political system of that period.

The earlier pan-Indian empires were ruled over by all-powerful monarchs, who had their officers, of high and low ranks, posted all over their domains. These officers took instructions from the centre and derived power from the emperor. Aśoka and his viceroys are an example of this system. In the heyday of the Guptas, governors were appointed by the emperor, but after some time they tended to assume authority in internal matters while owing allegiance to their sovereign. Gradually their offices became hereditary, and with the decline of Gupta power, they created their own separate principalities.

Moreover, Kauṭilya's advice that conquered kings, having been deprived of real power, should be reinstated in their kingdoms was followed on a wide scale by the Gupta 'Digvijayīs'. While forbidden to undertake military or diplomatic activities which might undermine the sovereign's power, the feudatories were allowed to govern their kingdoms as before, acknowledging the conqueror's suzerainty by paying tribute. It was not an easy task to govern a country of India's dimensions with the help of an official hierarchy, and, while the hand of a strong monarch was felt, the Sāmanta system worked well and prevented

the centre from becoming top-heavy. But, even with a slight loosening of the Imperial hold, the separatist forces came into play. The petty rulers did not have to reclaim political authority by organising rebellion against a King's deputy, but merely ceased paying tribute and using their overlord's name in their grants and charters.

Yet another centrifugal force was growing in the state since payment of officials in the form of land and land-revenue had been started after the Maurya period. This led to the growth of a class of vassal-chiefs, who were expected to pay regular tribute to their emperor and to assist him with troops and funds in war. We later deal with the institution of Sāmantas at greater length.⁽¹⁾ All these various influences had long been at work in the Indian state, but they emerged in clear relief at the end of the Gupta empire. The Vardhanas rose out of this period and lived to grow, flourish and decay in this political framework. From Sāmantas they rose to the status of Mahārājas, and then that of Mahārājādhirājas, until Harṣa became the paramount sovereign of the greater part of the country north of the rivers Narmadā and Mahānadi.

The idea of the Kauṭilya Maṇḍala, adopted to suit the times, was in full play in Harṣa's time. The King of

(1) See below p. 278 66

Kāmarūpa, master of an important and large kingdom, continued to acknowledge Harṣa's superiority throughout the latter's reign, even though he was completely independent in his internal affairs. We do not in fact hear that Harṣa ever even visited Kāmarūpa. Yet Bhāskaravarman joined the king's train of subordinate rulers on state occasions. The same may be said of Dhruvasena, the king of Valabhi. A promise of friendship united Harṣa with the former, and a matrimonial alliance with the latter. These two important yet subordinate contemporaries of Harṣa seem to belong to a class by themselves in the vast circle of his feudatories. There seems, also, to have been a category of vassal kings who were allowed to retain their rights of governorship over their small principalities, and who are referred to as local rulers by Hsuan-tsang. "The kings of over twenty countries"⁽¹⁾ at Prayāga, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, and the "several conquered feudatories"⁽²⁾ adorning Harṣa's camp on the Ajiravatī, referred to by Bāṇa, must have belonged to this class of vassal kings. Their status was inferior to that of Kumāra and Dhruvasena, and they might have been expected to serve their emperor on less important occasions than those on which he claimed the services of his two great subordinate allies. Harṣa's forces,

(1) Beal I p.218 / V 6a

(2) H.C.Trans. pp. 48 & 59.

consisting of "all the soldiers from the five Indias", must indeed have been recruited from all the districts directly or indirectly under him.

As we discuss elsewhere,⁽¹⁾ some important administrative officers of our period also held the title of Mahāsāmanta. In addition to areas of land, these officers also might have had their private retinues. But they belonged to yet another category of Mahāsāmantas. Many of them may have been Harṣa's courtiers, while others may have been provincial officials who were required to report to the centre from time to time.

Thus, in Harṣa's empire, there were districts the administration of which was managed by officials deputed by the king, there were principalities governed by their traditional rulers who had been subjugated by Harṣa but were allowed to continue in office as the emperor's Mahāsāmantas, and there were large kingdoms ruled over by subordinate allies, who were held in great regard by the emperor but who were not allowed to forget their inferior status.

Only one important contemporary kingdom of northern India touched the circle of Harṣa's power, both geographically and politically. This was Kashmir, which felt the pressure of Harṣa's power and the king of which, acknowledging Harṣa's military superiority, had to part with a treasured relic of

(1) See below pp 288, 289

the Buddha, thus suffering humiliation at the hands of the intruder. From the account of Hsüan-tsang, Kashmir appears to have been an important kingdom with various dependencies. Yet the King of Kashmir could be cowed into submission by Harṣa by ^{"relying on his superior strength in"} ~~a mere show of arms~~.⁽¹⁾ Having achieved this bloodless victory, Harṣa came back from Kashmir, and it does not seem that he had any further connections with that 'land of the snowy mountains'. There is no indication that Durlabhavardhana, the contemporary King of Kashmir according to Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī, ever visited Harṣa's empire, or that a treaty was ever concluded between the two kings. It was no doubt wise frontier policy on Harṣa's part to keep his important neighbours over-awed by his power. Thus Kashmir, though not a part of Harṣa's maṇḍala, was under his influence and would not venture to incur his hostility.⁽²⁾

It is in the light of our discussion of the political framework of the period, therefore, that we should try to form an idea of the extent of Harṣa's empire on the basis of contemporary sources, which, as they were not written with a view to serve posterity, do not give us more than incidental

(1) The Life, p.183. / p.248 b

(2) e.g. Takka (see below p.) was the common neighbour of Harṣa and the king of Kashmir. Durlabhavardhana might have tried to wean away the loyalty of the King of Takka had he not been afraid of Harṣa's power.

clues on the subject. Because of language peculiarities the terminology of the Chinese sources as compared with the indigenous ones may be misleading; for example, a character denoting the same degree of kingly authority may be used for a king and his feudatory alike.

We have already seen that Harṣa held sway over the districts lying between Kanauj and Puṇḍravardhana, mentioned by Hsüan-tsang. They were overrun by Harṣa's armies not long after his accession to the throne of Kanauj. Bengal and Orissa, visited by Hsüan-tsang in continuation of his journey from Magadha, were not occupied by Harṣa until after the death of Śaśāṅka in Cir.A.D.620. The western march of consolidation followed the expedition against Śaśāṅka.

Hsüan-tsang names and describes the following kingdoms lying to the west of Kanauj; Kapitha, (the modern Sankisa),⁽¹⁾ Pi-lo-shan-na (the modern Atranji-khera),⁽²⁾ Ahicchatrā (the eastern Rohilkhand),⁽³⁾ Goviśāna (near Kaśipur),⁽⁴⁾ Brahmapura (in the hills to the north east of Haridvār),⁽⁵⁾ Matipura (the modern Maḍawar),⁽⁶⁾ Śrughna (the modern Sugh),⁽⁷⁾ Stānviśvara, Mathurā, Pāriyātra (north of Jayapur),⁽⁸⁾ Śatadru (the modern

(1) C.A.G.I. p.423

(2) op. cit. p.417

(3) op. cit. p.413

(4) op. cit. p.409

(5) op. cit. p.407. Tripathi (p.88) has dealt with Suvarṇagotra instead of Brahmapura, though the latter was the kingdom visited by Hsüan-tsang. Suvarṇagotra's location and customs are mentioned by him merely as a point of interest.

(6) C.A.G.I. p.399

(7) op. cit. p.395

(8) op. cit. p.387

Sirhind),⁽¹⁾ Kuluta (Kulū),⁽²⁾ Jālandhara and Cīnabhukti (in the eastern Punjab).⁽³⁾ The countries beyond these are specifically described as the dependencies of other northern kingdoms. Harṣa, we presume, led a march of inspection and consolidation through the countries named by the Chinese pilgrim, many of which survive to this day. Of these Matipura, identified by Cunningham with Maḍawar or Maṇḍawar, a large town in Western Rohilkhand near Bijnor,⁽⁴⁾ is said to have been ruled by a Śūdra king who did not believe in Buddhism but worshipped the Devas.⁽⁵⁾ Mathurā is said to have been governed by a Buddhist king who, with his ministers, "applied himself to religious duties with zeal".⁽⁶⁾ A Vaiśya ruler, brave and warlike, is mentioned as the king of Pāriyātra,⁽⁷⁾ while Jālandhara, writes Hsüan-tsang, was 'formerly' ruled by a Buddhist convert who was rewarded by the King of Mid-India with the important office of the "sole inspector of the affairs of religion throughout the five Indias."⁽⁸⁾

Of these the Kings of Matipura and Mathurā, because of the close proximity of their kingdoms to Sthāṇviśvara and Kanauj, must have been the feudatories of Harṣa. Pāriyātra

(1) C.A.G.I. p.167

(3) op. cit. p.230

(5) Beal I p.190.

(7) op. cit. p.179

(2) op. cit. p.163

(4) op. cit. p.399

(6) op. cit. p.181

(8) op. cit. p.176./IV. 6a

may have owed only nominal allegiance to Harṣa because her king is said to have been of a 'brave, impetuous and warlike nature'. Bāṇa also selects Pāriyātra as one of the countries which Harṣa, at the very beginning of his reign, is advised to conquer.⁽¹⁾ Pāriyātra may not have been subdued in the earlier years of Harṣa's reign, but must have come under his influence when he secured the control of the west-central kingdoms leading to Valabhi. The "former King" of Jālandhara may be identified with Wu-ti, Uḍita⁽²⁾ or Buddhi⁽³⁾ of Jālandhara, who, according to the Life,⁽⁴⁾ was charged by a king of Mid-India, to be identified with Harṣa, to escort Hsüan-tsang to the borders of India. We think that by his phrase 'former king' the pilgrim here intends us to understand that Wu-ti, at the time of his visit a royal officer for the affairs of religion for the whole of 'five Indias', had at one time been the independent king of Jālandhara.

Since Jālandhara⁽⁵⁾ and Cīnabhukti appear to have been the most westerly kingdoms directly under the control of Harṣa, the river Beas may be fixed as the limit of Harṣa's direct influence in this direction. We learn from Hsüan-tsang's account that the large country of Takka lay beyond the Beas

(1) H. C. Trans. p.210, also see below p.

(2) Watters I p.297 restores it thus.

(3) According to Tripathi, p.87.

(4) Life, pp.189-190.

(5) "The ~~capitale~~city of north India", Life, p.190. /249b

(Pi-po-che or Vipāsā), its western boundaries touching the Sin-tu.⁽¹⁾ Takka thus was flanked by the kingdom of Kashmir on its north-west and by Harṣa's kingdom on the south-east. It must have been a rather unhappy position for Takka, for with one of her neighbours being appreciably weaker than the other, she could not have maintained a safe and advantageous neutrality. We think, in fact, that Takka was under Harṣa's dominating influence. An interesting feature of Hsuan-tsang's scheme of dividing his several chapters into various books tends to support our view. The pilgrim deals with eight small states of the north-west in his Book III, and starts a new book with his description of Takka. According to Watters, Takka "designated a country which was not in India", by which term he apparently means Harṣa's empire, "but was one of the foreign states....and should have been included in the pilgrim's general survey of the last chuan".⁽²⁾ The very fact that this is not the case points to Takka's close relations with Harṣa.

This brings us to the end of the second stage of Harṣa's 'digvijaya' campaign. Hsuan-tsang's statement regarding the incessant warfare waged by Śīlāditya for six years to bring the five Indias under allegiance⁽³⁾ has reference to campaigns

(1) Watters I, p.286

(2) op. cit. p.291

(3) op. cit. p.343

approximating to those described above. By A.D. 612, Harṣa had securely bound together countries from Kajangala (modern Rājmaḥal) in the east to Jālandhara in the west. Having firmly established his hold as the supreme political power of northern India, we may assume that Harṣa applied himself for the next few years to the task of co-ordinating and strengthening his administrative machinery to meet the needs of his heterogenous empire. As well as devoting himself to tasks of public welfare, about which we read in the Harṣacarita and the Records, Harṣa must have kept a vigilant eye on the politics of the frontier provinces, such as Kāmarūpa and Takka. As later events prove, he also kept a close watch on developments in countries still outside his domains, such as Bengal, Sindh and Saurāṣṭra.

Bāṇa has punningly referred to Harṣa's victory over the king of Sindh.⁽¹⁾ As the kingdom of Sindh extended well up to the point of the confluence of the Punjab rivers it may not have been difficult for Harṣa to conduct a campaign against the 'Sindhurāja'. According to the Chinese encyclopaedist, Ma-twan-lin, (thirteenth century), whose account is particularly valuable for the short period of Indian history following Harṣa's death, "there were great troubles in the kingdom in the years

(1) H. C. Text p.90-91, trans. p.76

A.D.618-627. The King Śīlāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been before".⁽¹⁾ It appears to us that Harṣa's battle with the King of Sindh and his occupation of Bengal took place in this period. The former event may have taken place in the first part of the period mentioned by the Chinese historian. In the east, Śaśāṅka's death took place in Cir.A.D.620⁽²⁾ and chaotic conditions prevailed in Gauḍa for nearly one year.⁽³⁾ In Orissa the Śailodbhavas declared independence. Probably delayed by the Sindh campaign on the western frontier of his empire, Harṣa arrived at the other extreme in Gauḍa about a year after Śaśāṅka's death,⁹ and annexed the important districts of Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāṭa, Tāmralīpti and Karnaśuvarṇa mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, and comprising the whole rich and important country of Bengal.⁽⁴⁾ The Bānskhera inscription of Harṣa dated the year 22 (A.D.628-29)⁽⁴⁾ was issued from the victorious camp of Vardhamānakoti, to be identified with the modern Bardhankoti in the Dinajpur district of Bengal.⁽⁵⁾ D. C. Ganguli,⁽⁶⁾ R. C. Majumdar,⁽⁷⁾ and K. L. Barua⁽⁸⁾ express the opinion that Gauḍa was occupied by

(1) J.R.A.S.; N.S.IV (1869-70) p.86 & J.A.S.B. VI p.68

(2) See above p. 82.

(3) The M.M.K. verses 747-8.

(4) ~~See above p. 82~~ Ep. Ind. IV p.211

(5) G.D.A.M.I. p.25

(6) I.H.Q. XV p.122 ff.

(7) H.B.R.I. pp.76-77 & J.B.O.R.S. IX p.311 ff.

(8) J.B.O.R.S. IX pp.65-66

9. See also above p. 87.

Bhāskaravarman, because he passed through it unobstructed with his full retinue to meet Harṣa at Kajangala. The argument is almost too weak to deserve attention, for, in view of the fact that he was on a friendly mission to Harṣa at the time, it would have been most surprising if his passage had been resisted by Harṣa's troops.

Orissa does not seem to have been conquered by Harṣa at this stage, because Hsüan-tsang refers to his attack on Koṅgoda in cir.A.D.640, when the Chinese pilgrim was enjoying the hospitality of the King of Kāmarūpa.⁽¹⁾ The records of the Sailodbhava King Mādhavarāja II confirm the view that Harṣa did not conquer Orissa in the decade A.D.630-640. The Purī plates of Mādhavarāja, probably dated A.D.623,⁽²⁾ show that he celebrated an Aśvamedha before his thirteenth regnal year. The undated Khurda grant of Mādhavarāja claims for him sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga, and was issued from the victorious camp of Koṅgoda. Mādhavarāja's power, however, was short-lived, for more than one reference in the Chinese records testifies Harṣa's occupation of a major part of Orissa.⁽³⁾

(1) Life, p.172

(2) Sircar I.H.Q. XXVII pp.151-3.

(3) Life, pp.153, 159, 172.

The addition to his empire of the territory and manpower of Gauḍa, which must have increased the size of his army considerably, seems to have prompted Harṣa to execute his plans of further conquests. The subjugation of Valabhi would create a bulwark against the rising power of the Cālukyas, an attack on whom was probably Harṣa's ultimate aim. Harṣa annexed Bengal, we believe about A.D.623. Soon after the opportunity was ripe for an attack on Valabhi, because the old King Dharasena III died in cir. A.D.629,⁽¹⁾ to be succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, T'u-lü-f'ō-po-tü of Hsüan-tsang's account. Harṣa's campaign against the Maitraka King was thus probably conducted in cir.A.D.630, and he fully succeeded in detaching the latter from Pulakeśin's circle of influence.⁽²⁾ For the rest of his days the Maitraka King remained an close ally of Harṣa. We have fully dealt with this event in an account of Dhruvasena's reign,⁽³⁾ and shall, therefore, proceed to discuss Harṣa's war with the Cālukya monarch Pulakeśin II.

(1) The date of the first grant of Dhruvasena II, I.A.VI p.13 ff.

(2) See above pp 101 and 102

(3) See above p. 99 ff

Pulakeśin II inherited the Cālukya kingdom of Bādāmi in cir. A.D.610, after securing victory in a civil war against his uncle Maṅgaleśa, who wanted to bestow sovereignty on his own son. The civil war brought in its wake confusion and anarchy, but Pulakeśin was soon able to master the situation and effectively establish his power in the home provinces. Thereafter he set out to conquer new territories and we learn from his Aihole praśasti⁽¹⁾ that in the south he succeeded in reducing the kingdoms of the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Ālūpas and the Mauryas, while further north he subdued the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras. These latter exploits brought into conflict the interests of the two leading monarchs of India. Harṣa's discomfiture at the hands of the Cālukya is mentioned after the latter's Gujarat campaign, and no doubt indicates the order in which his campaigns were carried out. We learn from the Aihole inscription that "envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harṣa, whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power.....was caused

(1) E. I. VI pp.9-10.

by him (Pulakeśin) to have his joy (harṣa) melted away by fear". This event is again referred to in the Nirpan,⁽¹⁾ Karnaul,⁽²⁾ and Togarcedu⁽³⁾ grants of Pulakeśin's successors. According to these grants their illustrious ancestor acquired the title Paramēśvara after defeating Harṣa, "the warlike lord of the whole region of the north" (Sakalottarapathanātha). But Pulakeśin's own record, the Hyderabad grant of A.D.612, informs us that he acquired this title "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or, a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles". These hostile kings may well have been Āppāyika and Govinda, known to us from the Aihole inscription, who threatened to attack Pulakeśin's home province soon after his succession in A.D.610. The Cālukya monarch emerged victorious in this battle and celebrated his success by adopting a new 'biruda', which is registered in his record dated A.D.612. We believe that Pulakeśin's successors, wishing to attach additional importance to his success against Harṣa, misrepresented the facts of Pulakeśin's adoption of his new title. Some scholars, identifying Harṣa with

(1) Ind. Ant. IX pp.124-5

(2) op cit. XI, p.68

(3) op. cit. VI pp.84-87.

the "hostile king" of the Hyderabad grant and accepting the correctness of the statement of Pulakeśin's successors regarding the title Paramēśvara, have dated the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war in A.D. 612 or 613. But we reject this view in favour of that which fixes cir.A.D. 633 as the date of the battle. It is not likely that Pulakeśin could have defeated Harṣa's strong army within the first two years of his reign, especially as his accession to the throne was heralded by anarchy and confusion. Harṣa also, as we know from Hsüan-tsang, was busy consolidating his empire constituting "the five Indias", in the first six years of his reign from A.D. 606 to A.D. 612. The Maitraka history of this period and the fact that Harṣa's Valabhi campaign apparently took place in cir.A.D. 630 also strongly suggest that the great battle occurred between this date and that of the Aihole praśasti. Moreover, the Lohner grant of Pulakeśin executed in A.D. 630 makes no allusion to Harṣa's discomfiture at the hands of the Cālukya monarch, and by its negative evidence further supports our view.

Pulakeśin's conquest of the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, took place in cir.A.D. 623⁽¹⁾ while Harṣa's

(1) See above p. 98

western campaign against the Maitrakas was organised in cir.A.D.630. Having alienated Dhruvasena from the Cālukya Maṇḍala, Harṣa seems to have taken the offensive against Pulakeśin II. As the former was the aggressor, the battle may have taken place in Pulakeśin's territory. We have already made the point that Harṣa conquered parts of Mālava in the course of his march against the King of Valabhi. Pulakeśin, therefore, may well have encountered Harṣa's armies on the bank of the Narmadā, but, as Vincent Smith says, "Pulakeśin guarded the passes on the Narmadā so effectually that Harṣa was constrained to retire discomfited, and to accept that river as his frontier".⁽¹⁾

The Chinese pilgrim has also left a record of the famous battle. Writing about Mahārāṣṭra, which he visited in cir.A.d.640, Hsuan-tsang states, "At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east ~~and the~~ west, ~~and carried his arms to remote districts,~~ ^{so that both far and near owed allegiance to him} but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indias.....to subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops".⁽²⁾

(1) R. C. Majumdar, H.C.I.P. Vol.III pp.104-5 expresses his disagreement with Smith's view, and suggests that the "battle was fought much further to the north". This view depends on his theory that the Lāṭas Mālavas and Gurjaras were permanently subordinated to Pulakeśin. We have given above our reasons for believing that this was not the case as far as the Malavas were concerned. (p.see above).

(2) Beal II pp.256-7. / XI. 126

The pilgrim also informs us that Pulakeśin possessed an excellent elephant-corps, and that these animals were made drunk before being sent to the battlefield. As the elephant-corps was the strongest division of Harṣa's army as well, and the Aihole inscription also refers to Harṣa's mighty elephants, the Narmadā battle may well have been one of the most memorable from the point of view of the display of tactics in elephant warfare. Harṣa's armies were repulsed and Pulakeśin was successful in preserving his territorial integrity. Harṣa's attempt to penetrate the south, though it proved abortive, is indicative of his insatiable spirit for undertaking new military enterprises. He was not deterred by the facts that Pulakeśin's power was great, that he would have to fight on enemy soil in unfamiliar surroundings, or that the Cālukya kingdom had a formidable northern boundary of hilly forests and a wide river. His venture, however, did not meet with success.

Of the districts lying between the Narmadā and the Ganges that are mentioned by Hsuan-tsang, Chichito, identified with the region of Jejākabhukti, said to have been ruled by a Brahman king, must have owed allegiance to Harṣa.

The Brahman king of Mo-hi-shi-fa-lo-pu-lo or Māheśvarapura near modern Gwalior may have been yet another Mahāsāmanta in the Harṣa-Maṇḍala. These two kingdoms on the south bank of the Ganges were not far from Ayodhyā and Kanauj on the north side of the river. Ujjayinī is also said to have been ruled by a Brahman ruler whose kingdom, we believe, having been over-run by Harṣa, was made over to the Maitraka king, but who may have continued to enjoy his traditional right of governing his land as a feudatory. The set-up of ancient kingdoms that were conquered was disturbed even less than that of those of more recent origin: Kapilavastu was a case in point, and the ruling family of Ujjayinī, even though the city changed hands several times in less than half a century, must have been respected and allowed to continue to rule under a succession of overlords. The country of Kiu-che-lo, or Gurjjara, with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo, to be identified with Bhinmal,⁽¹⁾ which had once borne the brunt of Prabhākaravardhana's arms, lay between Pāriyātra and Sindh. Like both her neighbours, Gurjjara, which was ruled by a sixteen year

(1) The ancient seat of the Gurjaras, N.H.I.P. Vol.VI p.433; Beal Vol.II p.270 fn.81, Saint Martin vide Watters II p.250 and Cunningham A.G.I. p.357 identify it with the modern Balmer lat. 25° 48' N., long 71° 16' E. Watters II p.250 remarks that the original probably stands for a word like Bhilamala.

old Kṣatriya king, must have felt the pressure of Harṣa's far-reaching influence. This Gurjjara kingdom is, of course, not to be confused with the more southerly Gurjara kingdom of Daḍḍa II.

Some writers hold that having been checked on the Narmadā frontier in the west Harṣa penetrated the Deccan via the eastern route some years later. We do not concur with this view, and shall examine the topic more fully after completing the story of Harṣa's remaining conquests.

His Kashmir exploit seems to have been Harṣa's next venture after his western enterprises, one of which, that against the Maitrakas, resulted in success, while the other, against the Cālukyas, proved fruitless. From the Records we learn that Hsuan-tsang, who stayed in Kashmir for two years from A.D. 631-33, visited there a famous Stūpa, where was kept a tooth of the Buddha "in a length about an inch and a half, of a yellowish white colour" and "which emitted a bright light on religious days". It was, no doubt, the same celebrated relic which was carried away by Harṣa a few years later. (1)

In the Life, following the account of the Kanauj assembly held at the end of A.D. 642, we are told that "to the west of the King's travelling palace there was a

(1) Watters I p.279 "The Tooth-relic here mentioned was not allowed to remain in Kashmir and was carried away a few years after Yuan-chuan's visit by the great King Śīlāditya".

Sanghārāma under the patronage of the king. In this building there was a tooth of the Buddha about an inch and a half long and of a yellowish white colour. It ever emits sparkling light". A little later it is recorded that "In recent times Śīlāditya rāja, hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier, asked permission to see and worship it. The congregation from a feeling of sordid avarice were unwilling to consent to this request and so took the relic and concealed it. But the King, fearing the exalted character of Śīlāditya.....found the relic.....and presented it to the King. Śīlāditya, seeing it was overpowered with reverence and exercising force, carried it off to pay it religious offerings. This is the tooth spoken of. "

Though Harṣa seems to have declared that he merely wished to see and worship the relic, he apparently went to Kashmir with the intention of capturing it. It seems to us that the King of Kashmir was frightened rather by Harṣa's armies than by his exalted character.

This event may have taken place within a couple of years of Hsuan-tsang's visit to Kashmir,⁽¹⁾ because by

(1) A.D. 630-32.

A.D.640 Harṣa is already known to have conquered Oḍra or Northern Orissa. ⁽¹⁾ Hsüan-tsang, who stayed near Nālandā with the Buddhist monk Jayasena for two years from A.D.640-642, supplies the information that Jayasena had been offered the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. Harṣa's Orissa campaign, which lasted until A.D.642, ⁽²⁾ thus must have started in cir.A.D.637. The extension of Harṣa's influence to Kashmir through the forcible possession of the tooth-relic may, therefore, be placed in cir.A.D.635. ⁽³⁾

Harṣa's desire to acquire new territories seems to have been insatiable. It was probably the death of the Sailodbhava King Mādhavarāja II which prompted Harṣa to undertake the conquest of Orissa. The undated Khurda grant of Madhavaraja II, ⁽⁴⁾ issued from the "jayaskandhāvāra"

(1) Life p.154.

(2) Life p.172

(3) Nihar Ranjan Ray (I.H.Q.1927 p.769 ff.) has tried to corroborate Hsuan-tsang's evidence by drawing attention to the mention of one Harṣa in the Rajataranginī of Kalhaṇa (I.H.Q.1927)

R. C. Majumdar (I.H.Q. 1929 p.233 ff) has refuted this assumption on the basis of Kalhaṇa's faulty chronology. On a careful examination of the relevant verses we find that the identification established by Ray is quite unsatisfactory.

(4) See Banerjee, History of Orissa Vol I pp.122 & 130

of Koṅgoda and claiming for its donor the sovereignty of the whole of Kaliṅga, may be placed between Mādhavarāja's Puri plates dated A.D. 623 and Pulakeśin's conquest of Kaliṅga in cir. A.D. 635, because Kośala and Kaliṅga are placed in the Aihole praśasti after the discomfiture of Harṣa. Mādhavarāja may have survived his defeat for a few years.

According to Mr. Ganga Mohan Lashkar,⁽¹⁾ the Khurda copper-plate, on the basis of its characters, which resemble those of Ādityasena's Aphsad grant, should be ascribed to the latter half of the seventh century A.D. But there is no appreciable difference between the paleography of this inscription and that of a slightly earlier date. The Khurda record seems to have belonged to the fourth decade of the seventh century, because it is unlikely that Mādhavarāja, who was a contemporary of both Śaśāṅka and Harṣa, outlived the latter by several years, regained Kaliṅga and mentioned his lordship of all Kaliṅga in one of his religious grants. As far as we know, the Eastern Cālukyas continued to exercise their suzerainty in this region in the latter half of the seventh century.

(1) J.A.S.B. (old series) 1904 pp. 282-6.

Harṣa's victories in Orissa were confined to the northern and middle provinces of that country. Hsüan-tsang gives their names as U-ch'a ie Odra and Kong-u-t'o or Koṅgoda. Ki-ling-kia or Kalinga, ruled by the Cālukyas, was not conquered by Harṣa. Odra comprised the modern districts of Midnapur, Balasore and Cuttuck. Chhatarpur and Ganjam formed part of the Koṅgoda Kingdom, to the west of which lay the kingdom of Mahākośala, which had recently suffered the brunt of Pulakesin's arms. We are told that Odra and Koṅgoda were respectively about 7,000 li and 1,000 li in circuit, while Kalinga is said to have been about 5,000 li. Harṣa thus was master of the greater part of Orissa.

The Life makes four references to Harṣa's conquest of Orissa. We are told that Harṣa made an offer of the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa to the Buddhist monk Jayasena. (1) After the conquest of Koṅgoda his return via Odra is mentioned twice (2) and he is said to have had a discussion with the priests of the Lesser Vehicle in Odra. (3) We believe that Harṣa organised a piecemeal conquest of Orissa, not only because he is mentioned as

(1) The Life, n. 154

(2) op. cit. p.159 & p.172

(3) op. cit. p.159.

returning via Odra more than once but also because he could not otherwise have made his liberal offer to Jayasena, which he presumably made in person, by A.D. 640, the year in which the Chinese pilgrim learnt the news of this offer. It is our opinion that, having conquered Odra in A.D. 637-8, Harṣa came to Prayāga for his fifth quinquennial assembly⁽¹⁾ and Jayasena, who may have been present on that occasion, was then made the offer, which he declined because of his strict religious scruples.⁽²⁾

Koṅgoda, thus, was the southernmost province of Harṣa's empire. In the opinion of some scholars,⁽³⁾ however, Harṣa also carried his victorious arms to the

(1) The sixth was celebrated in the presence of Hsuan-tsang in A.D. 643, *The Life*, p. 184.

(2) R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, p. 129-30, gives unconvincing reasons to prove that the references in the *Life* are of no consequence in establishing the fact of Harṣa's suzerainty over Orissa.

(3) R. Shamasastri, *Ann. Rep. Mysore Arch. Dept.* 1923, p. 83; S. Srikanta Sastri, *J.R.A.S.* 1926 p. 487; Nihar ranjan Ray *I.H.Q.* 1927, p. 788; Adrish Chandra Banerji *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society* Vol. VI 1931-2.

far south. The main basis for their assertion is an inscription composed in old Kannada, which was found near the village of Gaddemane in the Shimoga district of Mysore. It is a 'vīragal' set up to commemorate the death of a soldier and on paleographic grounds may be assigned to the seventh century A.D. The legend is as follows : "Be it well, While Śīlāditya,⁽¹⁾ the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Peṭṭaṇi Satyāṅka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battlefield, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Beḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra, and reached the abode of Svarga.....".⁽²⁾ Those who believe that Harṣa penetrated to the south identify the Śīlāditya of the record with Harṣa and Mahendra with his Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman I.

(2) S. Śrīkanta Sastri (J.R.A.S. 1926, p.487), R. S. Tripathi (Hist. of Kanauj p.122) and R. C. Majumdar (H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.106 n.1.) take some liberties in interpreting the text. Sastri translates the relevant line as "when Harṣa came conquering...." though no word in the text may be taken to convey that Śīlāditya travelled any great distance to reach the scene of war. Tripathi and Majumdar, though they do not believe in Harṣa's raid on the southern kingdoms, write that the passage mentions that "when Śīlāditya invaded the south....". The passage in fact does not impart that meaning at all. Our translation is that of Shamasastri (An.Rep. Mysore Ar.Dept.1923,p.83), which has been checked by a competent Canarese scholar, Dr. Padmarajī, who supports this reading against that of Śrīkanta Sastri's interpretation. an,

(1) Spelt Śīla-āditya.

In support of their view, these scholars further cite a Sanskrit verse composed by Mayūra, a relative of Bāna, and a protégé of Harṣa. (1) Making the familiar comparison of the earth with the emperor's wife, Mayūra wrote a passage which punningly alludes to the seizure of different parts of the earth by Harṣa. Besides Aṅga and Madhyadeśa, which we know to have been parts of his domains, mention is made of Kuntala, Kāñcī and the land of the Colas as Harṣa's possessions. It is claimed that as Mayūra was a contemporary of Harṣa, there should be some basis even for a piece of rhetoric. Why should Mayūra have referred to these particular parts of the country in praise of his patron? The reason for the poet's choice is no doubt to be found in the fact that the names mentioned were representative of the three greatest powers of the south at that time, (2) and had Harṣa been able to conquer them he would have become the unquestioned lord of the whole sub-continent of India. The verse, therefore, seems to have

(1) Quackenbos, the Sanskrit poems of Mayūra, p.20-1; Vallabhadeva's Subhāsitāvalī p.28-29; Tawney's translation of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi p.25-26.

(2) Kuntala was under the Cālukyas, Colas were the allies of the Cālukyas, while Kāñcī was the stronghold of the Pallavas.

been written in a wishful anticipation of Harṣa's all-embracing conquests, much in the same way as the subordinate kings in Harṣa's army are said by Bāṇa to have uttered the following remarks when their overlord set out for 'digvijaya':

".....The Deckan is easily won at the price of valour. Mount Malaya is hard by the Dardura rock....and Mahendra joins Malaya".⁽¹⁾ Ettinghausen, therefore, seems to offer the correct explanation when he says that "the verse was written before a campaign, probably that with Pulakeśin, forecasting what Harṣa intended to do."⁽²⁾

Mayūra's evidence thus proves too weak to substantiate the theory of Harṣa's invasion of the south. We find that the identification of the Śīlāditya and Mahendra of the Gaddemane Viragal with Harṣa and the Pallava Mahendrarvarman I is likewise unsatisfactory and may not be used as a reliable piece of evidence to propound the above mentioned theory.

The findspot of the Gaddemane inscription near the village of that name in Sāgar Hobli in Mysore, and the mention of the Beḍas, who were members of an ancient pre-Dravidian

(1) H. C. Trans. pp. 210-11.

(2) HarsaVardhana p.47.

tribe of Karnāṭaka⁽¹⁾ clearly show that the battle between Śīlāditya and Mahendra took place in the heart of the Deccan. In view of the political history of this region before and during Harṣa's reign, and keeping in mind the facts of his own career, it becomes obvious that Harṣa could not have attacked this part of the country either before or after his clash with Pulakeśin.

The Kadambas of the Karnāṭaka region had already been subjugated by Pulakeśin's father, Kīrtivarman, who ruled from A.D. 566-597. As the reign of the latter's brother and successor Maṅgaleśa ended in a civil war, Pulakeśin, who came to the throne in c.A.D. 610, felt the need to re-assert his hold over the Kadambas and other neighbouring kingdoms, such as those of the Gaṅgas, the Ālūpas and the Mauryas, all of which are enumerated in the Aihole inscription. The Gaṅgas belonged to South Mysore, which is also the findspot of the Gaddamane inscription. As the names of all these dynasties appear first on the list of the enemies reduced by Pulakeśin, it is clear that the Cālukya hold had become established on the

(1) R. S. Mugali, The heritage of Kanāṭaka (1946) p. 30 ; The region between the Narbadā and the Tungabhadra is known as Karnāṭaka.

central kingdoms of the south, including that of Mysore, by c.A.D.620.⁽¹⁾ These victories were followed by further success against the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras. Thereafter the clash with Harṣa took place in c.A.D.633, the result of which brought yet further laurels for Pulakeśin.

According to the Gaddamane inscription, Pettani Satyāṅka and Beḍara Rāya, who were presumably Śīlāditya's generals, defeated Mahendra's force "while Śīlāditya..... ascended the throne of his empire". Harṣa, who ascended the throne in 606, and the initial period of whose reign was beset with formidable difficulties, and who spent the first six years of his reign in over-running the five Indias, could not have invaded the region which was for most of this time under the effective control of the Cālukyas. As for the possibility that Harṣa may have invaded the Deccan and secured victories over Kuntala, Kāñcī, the Kadambas and the Colas after his clash with Pulakeśin, south Indian political history again yields facts which go against the theory.

The episode narrated in the Gaddamane inscription could not, of course, occur after A.D.633, if we identify

(1) Pulakeśin's Gujarat campaign is dated A.D.623.
See above p. 98

Mahendra of the record with Mahendravarman I, for his rule lasted only until A.D.630. As for the kingdoms mentioned by Mayūra, when they were not under the influence of the Cālukyas they were dominated by another rising power of the Deccan, the Pallavas. The Pallavas, in fact, were responsible for bringing to a close, in A.D.642, the erstwhile successful career of the Cālukya Pulakeśin II. Until A.D.654, they dominated the scene in the Deccan. In these circumstances it does not seem possible that Harṣa could have ventured to attack, much less succeed against, the Pallavas in their very capital of Kāñcī.⁽¹⁾ Mayūra's rhetoric thus was caused by nothing more than his loyal desire to see his patron rule over the whole of India and is very similar to the passage referred to in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita. Nor is the Gaddamane inscription a relic of Harṣa's glory. More satisfactory identifications of the Śīlāditya and Mahendra of this record can be found among the seventh century rulers of the two leading dynasties of the Deccan, the Cālukyas and the Pallavas. We examine below the various views put forward on this topic.

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- (1) The possibility of Harṣa's attack on Kuntala, Cola and Kāñcī in the latter part of his reign would be completely ruled out if we knew for certain that Mayūra had died during the first half of Harṣa's reign; this may be the case, if Mayūra was Bāṇa's father-in-law as revealed by some sources.

According to B. A. Saletore⁽¹⁾ and G. H. Moraes⁽²⁾ the Śīlāditya of the 'Viragal' is to be identified with the Valabhi prince Derabhata, who is described in the inscriptions of his dynasty as "the lord of the earth, whose two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya mountains".⁽³⁾ Derabhata, they believe, whose territory stretched beyond the Karnāṭaka, could have easily given battle to an adversary in Mysore, where the inscription is found. Śīlāditya's adversary Mahendra is identified with the Pallava Nolamba king Mahendra by Saletore and with the Pallava Mahendravarman II by Moraes. But we believe that Derabhata died before the accession either of the Nolamba King Mahendra, who, as noted by Saletore himself, is placed by Rice in the ninth century⁽⁴⁾ or of the Pallava Mahendravarman II, who ruled from A.D. 668-670. The two scholars have also made the groundless assertion that Derabhata was also called Śīlāditya. Both Derabhata's father and son enjoy this 'biruda' in the Valabhi inscriptions, but he himself is never mentioned as Śīlāditya. That Derabhata's death

(1) Quarterly Jour. of the Mythic Society, Vol. 22 pp. 169-184 and 302-317.

(2) The Kadambakula pp. 64-7.

(3) C.I. I Vol. III No. 39; G.D.A.M.I. p. 171 "The northern part of the western Ghats, north of the R. Kāverī."

(4) Q.J.M.S. Vol. 22, p. 305.

took place long before the accession of the Pallava King of Kāñcī, or the Nolamba Pallava, is suggested by the fact that his son, Śīlāditya, of whom the inscriptions say that "he was the lord of the earth whose bulky breasts are the Vindhya mountains"⁽¹⁾ was dropped as the Dūtaka from the inscriptions of Dhruvasena II (A.D.627-641) after A.D.638, probably because he died in that year. Thus, if Derabhata's son Śīlāditya was dead by A.D.638, as also believed by Virji,⁽²⁾ he himself must have died, or at any rate stopped taking active part in the affairs of the state, before that date. Saletore's and Moraes' identifications, therefore, when taken as a whole, do not hold good though, as we shall see, the latter's identification of Mahendra with Mahendravarman II is correct when considered separately.

Virji writes that the Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane Viragal "can be no other than the Valabhi prince (Śīlāditya, the son of Derabhata) who is described as ruling over the lands near the Vindhyas".⁽³⁾ She also observes that "this Śīlāditya.....was a contemporary of Dharasena IV, and may have ruled conjointly with him....."⁽⁴⁾ But in

(1) ~~xxx~~ C.I.I. III p.185

(2) p.80

(3) ^{Virji's} Appendix D. p.134

(4) Ibid.

an account of Dharasena IV's reign given a few pages earlier⁽¹⁾ she draws our notice to the facts that as Śīlāditya's (Derabhata's son) name disappears from Dhruvasena II's grants from A.D.638 onwards and is replaced by that of the former's younger brother, Kharagraha II, and not by that of the latter's son and successor, Dharasena IV, "it may be inferred that Śīlāditya must have expired before Dhruvasena II, and when Dharasena IV was not old enough to shoulder the responsibility of this important office (that of a Dūtaka)".⁽²⁾ These observations are quite contradictory to her statement that we have cited earlier: that "Śīlāditya.....may have ruled conjointly with him (Dharasena IV)". Even if Śīlāditya were alive during Dharasena IV's reign, we do not think that the latter, who assumed the highest titles in his family,⁽³⁾ would have shared power with a member of the collateral family.⁽⁴⁾

(1) pp.77-80

(2) p.80

(3) I.A. I p.14 ff; VII p.73 ff; XV p.339 ff.

(4) We therefore do not agree with Virji, who says by implication (p.135) that the Valabhi prince Śīlāditya had an empire as against the Cālukya prince Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya who "was a mere officer of the Cālukyas". The two Śīlādityas seem to have enjoyed almost similar status, in their respective kingdoms of the Vindhyan region, and Gujerat, under the patronage of the ruling emperors who were their relatives.

In any case, we think that as Śīlāditya's name as the Dutaka disappears from Dhruvasena II's grants after A.D. 638 and is replaced by that of his younger brother Kharagraha II, he probably died in that year. This is also Virji's view, which we accept as correct, as against her contradictory remark that Śīlāditya may have ruled conjointly with Dhruvasena II's son Dharasena IV. Thus Śīlāditya, the son of Derebhata, whom Virji identifies with the Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane inscription, died long before the reign of the Pallava Mahendravarman II, who she thinks was the same as the Mahendra of the Viragal. When arguing the case for the identification of Śīlāditya of the Viragal with the Valabhi Śīlāditya, it is also forgotten that, unlike his father, Śīlāditya is only stated to have been the lord of land near the Vindhya region, which terminates before Kārṇāṭaka begins. (1)

The Maitrakas seem to have had a special weakness for the 'biruda' Śīlāditya, so much so that both the ruling

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- (1) It should also be remembered that the achievements with which Derabhata and Śīlāditya are accredited in the records of their successors may be highly exaggerated for their campaigns may have been no more than raids conducted in the short period of confusion before Pulakeśin could master the situation. Even the Valabhi inscriptions betray that the occupation of territory in the Kārṇāṭaka region by the Maitrakas was short-lived because while Derabhata is said to have been lord of both the Vindhya and the Sāhya region, Śīlāditya is accredited with the lordship of the Vindhya only.

branch and the collateral family used this title for princes of the same generation. Thus, a bunch of seven Maitraka Śīlādityas, who, of course, had contemporary Śīlādityas of other dynasties as well, has entangled the wits of many an unwary historian. As we have mentioned earlier, Saletore⁽¹⁾ and Moraes⁽²⁾ wrongly accredited Derabhata with the title Śīlāditya, and therefore erred in their identification of the Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane inscription. In his recent writings Majumdar has made a comment on the short-coming of this identification, but the fact that he has included this comment in an account of Śīlāditya III's reign (A.D. 662-684)⁽³⁾ shows that he has made the mistake of thinking that the two above-mentioned scholars implied Śīlāditya III by Derabhata, who, according to them, held this title. Majumdar, of course, has not noticed that Derabhata is never referred to by this title in the Valabhi inscriptions. It may be of interest here to add that the King mentioned as Śīlāditya III by Majumdar

(1) Quart. Hour. of the Mythic Society, Vol. 22 (1932) pp. 169-184 and 302-317.

(2) The Madamba-Kula (1931).

(3) Majumdar H.C.I.P. Vol. III pp. 148-149.

has been styled Śīlāditya II by Virji, who makes a distinction between the ruling kings and the princes of the collateral branch, holding this biruda. We shall adopt the latter system, which seems to be more correct.

Śīlāditya II (c.A.D.658-685), though a contemporary of Mahendravarman II (A.D.668-670) who, it is now agreed by most scholars, was the same as the Mahendra of the 'Viragal', may not be identified with the Śīlāditya of the Viragal.

The Nasik plates issued in A.D.666 by Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, the brother of the ruling Cālukya emperor, Vikramāditya, record that he defeated the whole army of one Vajjaḍa in the country between the Māhī and the Narmadā. Several Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of a slightly later period apparently take great pride in recording that the Cālukyas who had defeated Harṣa and Vajraṭa were now overpowered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Thus Vajraṭa, who is no doubt the same as Vajjaḍa, must have been a powerful ruler. The territory under Vajraṭa's rule, "the country between the Māhī and the Narmadā", and the date of the battle strongly suggest that Vajraṭa was probably the personal name of Śīlāditya II. The Maitrakas, however, retained their hold on the territory north of the Narmadā, as is

shown by their various grants issued from Khetaka and Bharukaccha etc.⁽¹⁾ By A.D.705⁽²⁾ the control of the Bharukaccha viṣaya passed into the hands of the Gurjaras, the feudatories of the Cālukyas.

In the time of Vikramāditya I, the Cālukyas had to contend with two strong enemies, the Maitrakas on the north and the Pallavas in the south. Vikramāditya succeeded against both with the help of his brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, and the latter's son Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya. Jayasimha's success by A.D.666 against Vajraṭa, who was most probably Śīlāditya II, precludes the possibility of the latter's clash with the Pallava Mahendravarman II, who ruled between A.D.668-70. Even if it be conceded that the Maitraka Śīlāditya got as far as Mysore in Mahendravarman's time, why should both of them have fought with each other to the advantage of their common enemy, the Cālukyas?

We concur with R. C. Majumdar⁽³⁾ that the Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane record was the same as the Cālukya prince

(1) Acharya No.82 & No.92 dated respectively A.D.669 and 676.

(2) Navasārī Grant of Jayabhaṭṭa III I.A. XIII p.70 ff.

(3) I.H.Q. Vol.5, p.235; H.C.I.P. Vol.III, p.106 fn.1.

Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya, who was a contemporary of two Cālukya emperors, Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya. Two grants of this prince from Nausari and Surat, dated respectively A.D. 671 and 692, eulogise Vikramāditya, who, it is recorded, was responsible for the increase in the power of the prince's father, Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman. In turn, Jayasimhavarman is said to have "overcome the Pallava family by his unchecked prowess" and "obtained unsullied fame by victories in numerous battles". As both Jayasimhavarman and his son, Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya, despite their successes and their hold over a considerable territory in Gujarat, as is shown by the names of villages granted by the latter in his Nausari and Surat grants, never assumed imperial titles, it is clear that they enjoyed power only as viceroys under the patronage of the rulers of the main line. In return for their governorship of Gujarat they assisted their overlords in campaigns against the Maitrakas and the Pallavas.

The Gaddemane inscription is almost certainly a reminder of one of the successful expeditions undertaken by Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya on behalf of Vikramāditya, against the Pallavas. The dates of the grants of Jayasimhavarman and his son, Mahendravarman II, and the wording of the

viragal all taken together lead to the conclusion that the Śīlāditya of the Gaddemane record was no other than the Cālukya prince of that name. Jayasimha's Nasik plates⁽¹⁾ are dated A.D.666, while the first known record of his son, Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya, was issued in 671, which proves that the latter succeeded his father between these two dates. The two years' rule of the Pallava King, Mahendravarman II, also falls within this period. According to the Gaddemane record, Mahendra's defeat took place "while Śrī Śīlāditya....ascended the throne of his kingdom", which event, as the dates of the two grants show, took place not long after A.D.666. Mahendra's reign started in A.D.668. The use of the simple 'Śrī' for Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya, who only held the title Yuvarāja, is also quite appropriate, though it is incongruous for a king of Harṣa's or even the Maitraka king's stature. The Gaddemane Viragal may therefore safely be ignored as evidence for determining the extent of Harṣa's empire.

(1) Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan I, p.8. ff.
cf. Mirashi I. H. Q. XX p.353 ff.

Thus the long period of about thirty-six years⁽¹⁾ during which Harṣa continually sought to extent the limits of his empire seems to have terminated with his conquest of Odra and Koṅgoda in Orissa in A.D.642.

(1) According to Hsuan-tsang (Watters I, p.343), after the first six years of warfare Harṣa "reigned in peace for thirty years, without raising a weapon", but the statement is not borne out by facts. Beal (I, p.213) has wrongly interpreted the text to mean "After thirty years.....". Julien also translates the sentence as "Au bout de trente ans, les armes se reposèrent". The nearest translation of the Chinese, however, is: "From then on (i.e. six years after Harṣa had resumed royal office) close on to thirty years.....". There clearly seems to have been some mistake on the part of the pilgrim's amanuenses in interpreting the original notes for Hsuan-tsang, who refers to Harṣa's Orissa campaign in A.D.642 could not have made the statement now attributed to him.

CHAPTER IV

HARṢA'S ADMINISTRATION

Harṣa did not inherit an empire with well-rooted, established traditions, but brought together under a loose hegemony several kingdoms, which, though inheritors of the uniform system of government of the Gupta emperors, had by now assumed a distinct local character. The machinery of Harṣa's administration, therefore, like his scheme of conquest, must have received conscious and systematic planning on the part of the king and his ministers.

From the rank of a king of Sthānviśvara, Harṣa rose to the status of 'Sakalottarapathanātha' and the 'Uttarapatha' had to be kept united and prosperous under an organised system of administration. That his territories were thus kept is borne out by the unbroken, successful career of Harṣa for over four decades.

For factual evidence on the administration of Harṣa, our two most important sources are the familiar Hsi Yü Chi and the Harṣacarita. In addition to these, for an understanding of the general principles of political theory and organisation we may refer to Kāmandaka's Nītisāra, Asahāya's Bhāṣya or Nārada Smṛti and Kātyāyana's and Devala's Smṛtis.

These works do not strictly belong to Harṣa's period. They range between A.D. 400-800,⁽¹⁾ but, being in close proximity to his period, they no doubt voice the ideas of the time of Harṣa. The political literature of these centuries lacks not only vigour and boldness, but even originality. It is a period not of authors but of commentators.

Other and more reliable sources of information on his administration are the inscriptions of Harṣa and his contemporaries, the later Gupta inscriptions of the years immediately following Harṣa's reign, Harṣa's coins, and, last but not least, our clear knowledge of the more important aspects of Gupta administrative organisation. For a general idea of the governmental structure of our period we may safely depend on this last source if we make use of it with the required discretion, always bearing in mind the modifications which the Gupta administrative system had undergone by the time of Harṣa.

Before attempting to draw a picture of the administrative system in operation it will be well to note the undercurrents in political thought and the fundamental traditions of ancient Indian polity, which motivated the actions of seventh century monarchs. Such a background becomes all the more necessary since there is a tendency

(1) P. V. Kane. His. Dhs. Vol. I. Synopsis of Contents pp xxxi-xxxiv

amongst writers to judge ancient monarchs by medieval or even modern standards of statecraft.

The fundamental concepts of Hindu political philosophy were formulated by thinkers and philosophers. The political writers interpreted them and elaborated on them. The state, as governed in practice, was no doubt their model, but theoretical assumptions abounded in their writings, and they frequently adopted normative and didactic attitudes. Political theory, having been created by metaphysicians and treated by political writers, was studied by the ministers and advisers of the monarch, and indeed by the latter himself. The King then executed and administered the law, made by the lawgivers, with the help of his officers.

The beginnings of these fundamental concepts, which guided each and every member of Indian society and which evolved as time went on, can be traced to the Vedas. We will deal with the more important of these concepts coming directly under the heading of political theory, and will give a brief account of their development, elaborating on the subject when we reach the period of our special study.

The concept of Dharma has a very important place in Hindu thought. In this context it has a much wider meaning than 'religion', the modern term by which it is often translated. It is an outlook on and a way of life, which, if

adhered to, would help one to live life, here and hereafter, at its fullest and best. The word Dharma is derived from the root 'dhr̥', which means to sustain or uphold. Dharma was natural law for inanimate objects and natural phenomena, an ethical and social standard of behaviour for the people, and a code of kingly duties for the king.

In the Vedic period, however, no moral sense was attached to the word Dharma, which signified upholder or supporter⁽¹⁾, or ordinance or law.⁽²⁾ Rta, on the other hand, was the word with some sanctity attached to it, since its violation demanded of the sinner penitence and prayer to the god Varuna. Gradually, however, the word lost its importance, and its moral content was incorporated in Dharma as the use and connotation of the latter slowly widened.

The Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads use the word Dharma in a still more significant context. According to the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 'Brahman' created the most excellent Kṣatra (power) ^{in the form of} ~~Kṣatras among~~ gods, then the demigods, then the castes, and finally the most excellent Dharma. Dharma is the Kṣatra of a Kṣatra; ^(ie a Kṣatriya) therefore there is nothing higher than Dharma. With the help of Dharma even the weak rule

(1) RV. i, 187, 1; X, 92, 2.

(2) Vedic Index, I, 390; Keith op. cit., p.249.

over the strong because Dharma is the Truth. Truth and Dharma are interchangeable.⁽¹⁾ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also equates Dharma with Truth.⁽³⁾

The concept of Truth was at this time also undergoing a change, side by side with that of Dharma. In the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, Truth was conceived mainly as a metaphysical concept - the Truth of things or their objective existence.⁽²⁾ This metaphysical notion of Truth received its classic formulation in the Upaniṣadic and the Vedantic

(1) "In the beginning (of creation) there was 'Brahman', one only. That being one, was not strong enough. It createdthe most excellent Kṣātra viz: those Kṣātras (powers) among the Devas (i.e. various gods). Therefore there is nothing beyond the Kṣātra. At the Rājāsūya sacrifice the Brahman sits below the Kṣātriya. But 'Brahman' is nevertheless the birth-place of the Kṣātra..... Brahman was (still) not strong enough so he created demigods and castes, and finally the most excellent Dharma. Dharma is the Kṣātra (strength) of the Kṣātra, therefore there is nothing higher than Dharma. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the Dharma, as with the help of a king. Thus the Dharma is what is called the true. Truth and Dharma are interchangeable! Hence if a man speaks the truth they say he speaks the Dharma and if he speaks the Dharma say he speaks the truth." i, 4, 11-15 and S.B.E. Vol.XV pp.88-89.

(2) A.V.xii, 1 and A.B. iii 6

(3) S.B., V, 4, 5; V, 3, 3, 5 also T.B.i, 17, 10, 1-6. 'The king is the upholder of Dharma he is to do and speak only that which is right!'

view that "Brahman" or the absolute is Truth. But simultaneously the notion was growing, perhaps in the Vedas, definitely in the Brāhmaṇas, that Truth is also a moral category, and hence speaking the Truth was considered a moral act. This moral conception of Truth was emphasized by the Upaniṣads, Buddhism, the Yoga philosophy of Patañjali and the Purāṇas and other systems. By equating the ideas of Truth and Dharma the passage from the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad marks a further step in the moralisation of the notion of Dharma. (1)

This stage in the development of the meaning of Dharma also decides once and for all the ascendancy of Dharma, moral force, over Kṣatra, physical force. The word Kṣatra occurs in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, and the need arises of determining the relationship between Brahma and Kṣatra. (2) The Brāhmaṇas tend to attribute Brahma power to the Brahmans and Kṣatra power to the Kṣatriyas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3) makes it clear, however, that the division is not rigid and that one can develop the capacities of the other. Moreover, the superiority of Brahma over Kṣatra though not unequivocally stated, had its beginning in the Brāhmaṇas. For according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, although Brahma and Kṣatra are interdependent, the Brahman who represents Brahma can do without Kṣatra, but not vice-versa. (4)

(1) Br. Up. i, 4, 11-15.

(2) Aitṛ Br. viii, 6, 9.

(3) Sat. Br. xiii, 1, 5.

(4) Sat. Br. iv, 1, 4, 6.

The notion of Brahma, which in the Vedas stood for mysterious supernatural force, was identified with the absolute, truth and bliss, by the Upaniṣads.

The development of the concepts of Brahma and Kṣatra and their connection with Dharma make it possible for us to realise the fast growing importance and comprehensiveness of the concept of Dharma.

A clear addition to the meaning of Dharma was made when the Upaniṣads used it for the duties of the four 'āśramas' and 'varṇas' of society. The whole of the Dharma-śāstra literature, as well as Kauṭilya, uses Dharma in this sense also. The Bhagavadgītā is most emphatic about the righteousness of pursuing one's own Dharma, duty or vocation in life.

With the rise of Buddhism not only did the moral aspect of Dharma become more emphasised, by using this term for a set of doctrines in which Śīla or morality played a very important part, but the metaphysical aspect of it was affected too, inasmuch as Buddha regarded the theory of dependent origination ('becoming') as Dharma, whereas the Upaniṣads had identified Dharma with the concept of the absolute, the 'being', and the notion of 'non-being'. (1)

The special treatment of the concept of Dharma by Buddhism, had far-reaching effects in the political sphere.

Cited by V.P. Varma in J.B.R.S. Vol. 38 part 2. p. 301. f.n. 3.

(1) Cf. Bodhi - p. 474; Tattva pp. 11, 173. Ibid

Aśoka found it quite practical to combine the Rājadharmā of Kauṭilya with the Dharma of an individual, as taught by the Buddha. The result was to make the king a better individual, and the government so humane as to merit distinction in the entire history of mankind.

Even the practical Kauṭilya believes with the Upaniṣads that Dharma is firm truth. In his work, he supports the Upaniṣadic notion of Dharma as duty, and requires the King to be energetic, efficient, just, and master of the six passions (sex, anger, greed, vanity, haughtiness and false optimism).⁽¹⁾ The King who would minister to the well-being of his people would attain heaven. Since the performance of one's duty would bring happiness and prosperity here and hereafter, the King was not only to fulfil his Dharma, but to govern his people in such a way that they also should not swerve from their Dharma.⁽²⁾

It was in this sense that Aśoka was a protector of Dharma. In his concept of kingship he fully agreed with the ideal of an energetic, efficient king set by Kauṭilya, incessantly working for the good of his people, whom he looked upon as his children. The Sanskrit word ~~for~~ 'prajā' used more than once in Aśoka's inscriptions, as well as in later political literature, means both "people" and "children".

(1) Artha. vi, 1.

(2) Artha 1, 3.

In his edicts, Aśoka talks of his debt to his fellow human beings.⁽¹⁾ The Mahābhārata voices a similar idea in the theory of royal power being held by a king in trust for his people.⁽²⁾ Implicit in Dharma, for Aśoka, was toleration and a liberality of attitude which claimed for himself no more and no less than for others. ".....all should listen and be willing to listen to the doctrine professed by others.....all sects should be possessed of wide learning and good doctrines..... And the fruit of this is that the promotion of one's own sect takes place as well as the glorification of Dharma."⁽³⁾

The ministers of Dharma in Aśoka's administration were to guide and protect his people in all spheres of life - soldiers and householders, those overwhelmed by misfortune or those afflicted by age.⁽⁴⁾ Dharma, which generated love, was Aśoka's way of conquest.

Rājadharmā as discussed by Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata is a fusion of Dharma and politics. It advocates methods of statecraft balanced between the ruthlessness of the Arthśāstra and the idealism of the Upaniṣads and Aśoka. Manu, for instance, equates Danda⁽⁵⁾ with its double aspect of coercion and protection, with Dharma. Such standards

(1) Rock Edict No. 6.

(2) Mbh. Śānti. Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva.

(3) Rock Edict No. 12.

(4) Rock Edict No. 5.

(5) Another fundamental concept of Hindu political thought which we shall presently discuss - the King is the wielder of the Danda.

of Artha and Kāma as go against the ordained principles of Dharma must be abandoned.⁽¹⁾ Dharma is extremely comprehensive and pervades society in several aspects. The King, by helping the people and making them live according to the needs of Dharma, through his authority only fulfils his own Dharma. This authority empowers the king to confiscate property in times of crisis,⁽²⁾ or raise revenue from his non-brahman subjects without incurring any sin. With regard to warfare and his dealings with the enemy, the king should learn both the path of Dharma and that of non-Dharma.⁽³⁾

Buddhist literature forms the next step in deviating from the system of Arthaśāstra, with its all-powerful, all-embracing authority of the king. In it, too, is preserved the most interesting account of the non-monarchical states which existed in India from Circa 600 B.C. to C.A.D. 400, though one or two escaped, being absorbed into the larger empires, even to the time of Harṣa.⁽⁴⁾ The sympathy of the

(1) Manu IV 176.

(2) Mbh. CXXX - 23-24 - Apaddharma. We should mark the fact that the last chapters of the Rājadharmā Book of the Śāntiparvan are followed by chapters on Apaddharma, 'Dharma in times of crisis'. Bhīṣma says emphatically that the policy used in normal times must not be the same as used in times of distress.

(3) Mbh. Śānti. lxxx 5.

(4) Beal II p.14.

Buddhists for republican states, and the elements of democracy in their religion, made them view the status of kingship in a different light. Extracts from the Catuḥsatikā of Āryadeva - the Mādhyamika philosopher of the 2nd century A.D. (1) - furnish very good examples of the Buddhist attitude towards the duties of a king. Āryadeva first puts forth some prevalent views on kingship, such as, 'the king's pride in himself is justified because all undertakings proceed from him'. (2) This is followed by a commentary which concludes with these remarks: "What arrogance is thine (O King!), thou who art a gaṇadāsa (a servant of the people) and who receivest the sixth part (of the produce) as thy wages." (3) On the subject of the relationship of Dharma and politics Āryadeva says, "The wise man should not conform to all the doings of the sages, since even among them exist grades of bad, intermediate and good". (4) The commentary informs us that this is the author's answer to the Brahmanical view that the king who slays people in accordance with the law laid down by the sages (Riṣhīpranīta Dharma) incurs no sin. The Buddhist considers even the sages'

(1) H.C.I.P. Vol.III (Nalinaksha Dutt) p.381 and Haraprasad Shastri - p.451.

(2) Catuḥ. p.461

(3) Ibid.

(4) Catuḥ. p.462

actions questionable; they are also to be judged by the eternal standards of right and wrong. (1)

Dharma, the guiding star of life, in the sense of religious merit, is the foremost of the Trivarga, the three categories Dharma, Artha and Kāma, which lead one to Mokṣa - Salvation, the aim of life. Good results, however, are obtained by good conduct and in the cycle of birth and death, 'Karman' - 'action' is the determining factor. The law of Karma binds alike the gods and the mortals. Salvation does not come from inaction; in fact, the three aims of life, the 'puruṣārthas', involve living life fully, busily in all its spheres, in a disciplined manner. Artha, the acquisition of wealth and Kāma (enjoyment or fulfilling the desires of the senses), if acquired and enjoyed according to the laws of Dharma will help one to attain the fourth 'puruṣārtha' Mokṣa. Rājadharmā also aspires to attain these four ends of life. (2)

(1) The Tibetan translation of the Catuḥśatikā reveals the name of the commentator - Candrakīrti. According to a compiler of Āryadeva's work, Nanjio, Āryadeva's real name was Candrakīrti. Maraprasad Sastri (preface p.451) also thinks that later writers confounded the author with the commentator.

Candrakīrti is well-known by his commentary on the work of Nāgārjuna - the founder of the Mādhyamika school and teacher of Āryadeva. Candrakīrti's own work Mādhyamakāvatāra exists only in Tibetan. He writes beautiful prose.

(2) For the states' right and duty to help an individual attain fulfilment in all spheres of life, see, The Age of Imperial Unity (Beni Prasad) pp.307-310. [H.C.L.P. Vol. II]

'Artha' again has a wider connotation than that of 'wealth', which is usually imparted to it, and in its comprehensive meaning it is of great importance to a king. This word is as old as the Rgveda and its root is r which means 'to go, move, emit', or 'arth', perhaps a derivative root of r, meaning to desire or request. It also denotes wealth, motive or purpose. Though second on the list of the four aims of life of the ancient Indian, it was of vital importance to the individual, to the community, and to the protector of the laws which regulated the life of the community. 'The science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth'⁽¹⁾ is also Artha according to Kautilya, the best known writer on the subject. Works on the science of polity or the Arthasāstras claim great antiquity in the history of Sanskrit literature. The Artharva Veda refers to Arthasāstra as an Upaveda of Rg Veda.⁽²⁾ Kautilya⁽³⁾ and Kāmandaka⁽⁴⁾ both mention that various works on the subject existed before the former composed his book.⁽⁵⁾ Of the writers

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- (1) Artha XV, I. (2) Artharva.; Parīṣiṣṭha 49, 4.
 (3) Artha I, 1 : "This Arthasāstra is made as a compendium of almost all the arthasāstras, which, in view of acquisition and maintenance of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers."
 (4) Kāmandaka. I, 6 - "Kāmandaka does obeisance to Viṣṇugupta, who extracted the nectar of Nītisāra from the vast ocean of Nītisāra works".
 (5) Some of the names that have come down to us are the schools of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas, Ausanāsas, Ambhīyas and Parāśaras and the individual authors; Bhāradvāja, Viśākṣa, Piśuna, Kaunpadanta, Vātavyādhi, Bahudanti-putra Kāmandaka and Śukra. According to the Mahābhārata Brahmā himself was the founder of this science, his work was abridged by Śiṣya, and the several writers, Indra, Brhaspati, Uśnas, Manu, Bhāradvāja etc. followed in that tradition. (Names occurring in the Mbh. cited by Jacobi (1911) p.973 and Oppert (1880) could

whose works have survived, Kauṭilya tries to establish the importance of Artha with great conviction and force. We shall later discuss Kauṭilya's treatment of the subject in detail.

The law-giver, Manu,⁽¹⁾ considers all three of capital importance and complementary to each other. "The king must administer justice in accordance with the standards of Dharma, Artha and Kāma by consulting the ministers."⁽²⁾

In the Mahābhārata, Nārada puts the following question to Yudhiṣṭhira - "Are you increasing your wealth? Is your mind rooted in Dharma? Is Dharma being fulfilled according to Artha and Artha according to Dharma? Are these two not being obstructed by Kāma? Are you observing these three in their proper place and time?"⁽³⁾

Thus we see that the later literature, unlike the earlier Upaniṣadic and Buddhist literature, sets Artha almost on a par with Dharma, and, though admitting the greatness of Dharma, Kauṭilya at least deems Artha of supreme importance to the King.

The definition of Artha given by the Kauṭīliya - composed between the 4th Century B.C. and A.D. 300 - is of sufficient

continuing (5) from previous page.... p.35; Mbh, 58, 2-3 and 1. 98, 36).

(1) above.... — Though he ordains that such standards of Artha and Kāma as go against the ordained principles of Dharma must be abandoned. IV 176.

(2) Manu IV 151 ff.

(3) Mbh. Śānti V 20-23.

interest to be quoted here in full: (1) "The subsistence of mankind is termed 'Artha, wealth; the earth which contains mankind is termed 'Artha'; that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is the Arthaśāstra, Science of polity". The ground traversed by the author of the science of polity also reveals that polity in ancient India not only covered the political affairs of the state but also such subjects as would be treated today under the headings of law, economics and morals. Kauṭilya at the end of his work, therefore, justifiably says:- "Thus this śāstra.....is composed as a guide to acquire and secure this and the other world".

That the terms Artha and Arthaśāstra had gradually come to acquire a wide connotation is evident from the fact that Kauṭilya, who imparts us this information, is a comparatively later writer, in the long line of ^{earlier} authors on this subject, whose works are now lost.

Kauṭilya wants his King to enjoy in an equal degree the three pursuits of life, Dharma, Artha and Kāma - which are mutually interdependent. (2) 'Any one of these three, when enjoyed to an excess, hurts not only the other two, but also itself'. Other writers on the subject may have their

(1) Artha. XV, 1.

(2) Artha. I. 7. 'Samam vā Trivargamanyonyānubandhaḥ'

opinions about the ascendancy of Dharma over Artha but (1)
 'Kauṭilya holds that Artha, and Artha alone, is important,
 inasmuch as Dharma and Kāma depend upon Artha for their
 realisation'. (2)

Bārhaspatya Sūtra, an Arthaśāstra work placed very
 close to our period, expresses similar views on the import-
 ance of Artha. This work, said to be posterior to Kālidāsa,
 and most probably anterior to the Kāmandakiya, is only
 remotely related to the ancient treatise of Brhaspati. (3)
 The author of the Bārhaspatya Sūtra advises his king to
 acquire wealth. "Whoso has store of wealth, has friends
 and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and
 intelligence. By one without wealth, wealth cannot be
 acquired, as an elephant by one without an elephant. In
 wealth is rooted the world, (4) and therein are all things. A
 man without wealth is a dead man and a Cāṇḍala." (5)

(1) Here, one or two passages, containing the opinions of
 other writers on the subject, seem to have been omitted
 in the text as we have it.

(2) Artha. I, 7.

(3) Bār. Sūtra. Trans. F.W. Thomas, Intro. p. 8, for Bhagvaddatta's
 opinion on the date. Op. Cit. footnote, Pandit Jai Deva's
 opinion cited, and p. 18 F.W. Thomas's opinion on the date.

(4) Artha. I XIX. 'The root of wealth is activity'.

(5) Bār. Sūtra : "Arthāmarjayet.
 vi 7-12 : Yasyārtharāśirasti tasya mitrāṇi
 dharmasca vidyā ca guṇavikramaṃ
 ca buddhisca.
 Adhanenārthamārjayitum na śakyate
 gajoagajeneva.
 Dhanamūlam jagat.
 Sarvāni tātra santi.
 Nirdhāno mṛtacāṇḍalaśca.

Closely connected with Artha and Rājadharmā is Danda, another important aspect of ancient Indian polity. Its literal meaning is a staff or a rod; secondarily it means punishment, but political treatises attribute to it a much wider connotation, and use it as a symbol of kingly authority. In fact Danda becomes synonymous with the science of government, inasmuch as it keeps the people of the kingdom and of the neighbouring territories in their proper place, by means of punishment or chastisement. Kautilya and other writers on statecraft use this term in the sense of 'fine' and 'army'. Emphasising the supreme importance of Danda for maintaining peace, Kautilya writes, 'In the absence of Danda, people would become chaotic, the law of the bigger fish swallowing the small fish (Matsyanyāya) would come into action, and the very object of (the institution of) kingship would be defeated. (1) Kāmandaka repeats the warning given by his teacher. (2) Matsyanyāya was the dread of ancient society, and Danda, or the authority of the king, was created to keep it in abeyance.

Most writers on the subject confine 'Danda' to the sphere of practical politics, but Kautilya goes a step further by attaching to this word an ethical connotation. 'Danda' says Kautilya, 'is rooted in or dependent on discipline (vinaya).' "Only those who are possessed of such mental faculties as

(1) Artha. I, 4. (2) Kāmandaka VI, 15.

obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination, inference and deliberation can be tamed by the study of the sciences, and discipline can be imparted only to those who are possessed of such qualities. Sciences shall be studied (by the prince) and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of teachers who have specialised in them. In view of maintaining efficient discipline, he shall always keep company with the aged professors of sciences, in whom alone discipline has its firm root."⁽¹⁾ In the next chapter⁽²⁾ Kauṭilya says that success in discipline depends on the restraint of the organs of senses. Thus, we see that discipline, in which is rooted Daṇḍa, is, according to the author of the Arthaśāstra, an intellectual and moral quality. Daṇḍanīti has been elaborately dealt with in the Manu Smṛti and the Mahābhārata, and both authors use this term and royal authority interchangeably. Manu writes, 'Daṇḍa is (in reality) the King. The whole world is kept in order by Daṇḍa.....through fear of Daṇḍa the whole world yields the enjoyments (which it owes). Where Daṇḍa with a black hue and red eyes stalks about, destroying sinners, there the subjects are not disturbed, provided that he who inflicts it discerns well'.⁽³⁾

(1) Artha. Bk i, 5.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Manu. vii, 17 & 22-25.

According to the Mahābhārata,⁽¹⁾ which deemed Daṇḍanīti to be an essential of good government, departure from Rājadharmā was an end of knowledge, the ruin of Dharma and of the social structure based on the four Āśramas. Rājadharmā pursued properly maintained order and brought prosperity. The scope of Daṇḍa was so wide as to include the discussion of the fourfold ends of man - Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. The King, the wielder of Daṇḍa, could thus influence the lives of his people in all spheres of life.

To Brhaspati again there is only one science and that is Daṇḍanīti.⁽²⁾ 'The King who abandons the science of Daṇḍa is sure to land himself in misery, as a moth burns itself in a flame through ignorance'.⁽³⁾

Kāmandaka defines the term as 'repression of crime'. 'Owing to the possession of Daṇḍa, the king himself is known as Daṇḍa. The administration by the king is called Daṇḍanīti'.⁽⁴⁾

We end the discussion on Daṇḍanīti and science of polity in general with Śukra's views on the latter: 'Nītisāra aims at social well-being and leads on to the welfare of mankind. It is admitted to be the very source of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, and hence a means to Mokṣa. Therefore it is for the king to study always the Śāstra, the knowledge of which helps him to overcome his enemies, and himself to become the source of delight to his people'.⁽⁵⁾

(1) ~~Mann~~. vii Mbh. Śanti lxii 28-29 (2) Br. i. 3,

(3) Ibid i. 112.

(4) Kāmandaka ii, 15 cf. Śukra i, 157.

(5) Śukra i. 5-6 and 12.

We have very briefly dealt in turn with the growth of the important concepts of ancient Indian polity in the light of the various works on religion, polity and philosophy from the earliest times until Cir.A.D.400.⁽¹⁾ This brief survey was necessitated by the fact that the basic concepts of life originated, developed and became established in this creative period of Indian history. The new needs of the ever-progressing society were fulfilled in the light of the prevailing conditions, but always on the line of these deep-rooted traditions. The seventh century political literature and institutions follow from this background. Therefore we shall now give in a few words a composite picture of all these aspects of political theory as pertaining to kingship, in the literature closest to the time of Harṣa.

As we have said before, the period abounded in Smṛti literature⁽²⁾ and commentaries of the earlier texts. The Smṛtis, in fact, are the expanded metrical versions of the Dharmasūtras. Some of them are concerned with human conduct generally, but most are purely legal text-books, dealing with

(1) The earlier Vedic literature is known as Śānti (heard). The Dharmasūtras mostly written before the Christian era and the Dharmasāstras written from the Christian era onwards - comprise the Smṛti. [also the epics and the purāṇas]

(2) The dates of some of the important works on Rājadharmā with which we have dealt in the preceding pages are: H.C.I.P. Vol.II pp.275,254 & 256.

Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra - 400 B.C. - latest by A.D.300

Manusmṛti - 200 B.C. - A.D.200

Mahābhārata - A.D.300 to 400 (in its final form)

such rules of jurisprudence as pertain to marriage, property, assault, defamation, and so on. (1)

The Smṛti of Kātyāyana, not only occupies the foremost place in the various works on jurisprudence in this period (A.D. 400-600), but, by virtue of its closeness to Harṣa's age, is our best guide to how the affairs of state were conducted in the sphere of law by the successors of the Gupta Empire, including Harṣa and his predecessors. The fact that many rules of Kātyāyana's Smṛti survive in the modern schools of Hindu Law testifies to the practical application of these rules in Kātyāyana's time as well. Since Kātyāyana liberally borrows from his forerunners in the Smṛti tradition as well as from writers on Indian polity, such as Kauṭilya, we must assume that many of his laws had been long current, at least in some parts of India. Thus the contention of some scholars that Kauṭilya's and Kāmandaka's works are solely in the nature of treatises on the theory of political science should not be accepted unquestioningly.

(1) A list of the important Dharmaśāstras - composed after Manusmṛti - may be compiled as follows:-

Yājñavalkya	A.D. 100-300
Nārada	A.D. 100-300
Parāśara	A.D. 100-500
Brhaspatī	A.D. 200-400
Kātyāyana	A.D. 400-600
Pitāmaha	A.D. 300-700
Pulastya	A.D. 300-700
Hārīta	A.D. 400-700
Asahāya's commentary on Nārada Smṛti	A.D. 600-750

The dates adopted are those given by P.V. Kane, Hist. Dhs. Vols. I & IV synopses.

Tests, such as these, though didactic in nature, do, to some extent, reflect on the practices that were prevalent in or anterior to the period in which they were composed. Kātyāyana's Smṛti has reached us in the form of quotations in the works of about a dozen later writers. It deals with various subjects, such as the position of the King, Courts of Justice, judicial procedure, criminal law, laws of partition and inheritance and laws of debt, etc. At several places Kātyāyana quotes from or enlarges upon Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati, etc., but, he introduces many new ideas and rules in jurisprudence, such as those on 'Strīdhana' (a woman's personal property), the constitution of the court of justice and judicial procedure⁽¹⁾

Of the King, Kātyāyana says 'He is the God Indra in human form,⁽²⁾ 'He is the lord of the land but never of other kinds of wealth, therefore he should secure the sixth part of the fruits of land but not otherwise at all'.⁽³⁾ Kātyāyana's king was expected to dress simply,⁽⁴⁾ when attending a court of justice, and be guided in his judgments by 'Dharma', or, by 'judicial proof' or 'usage' in the absence of sacred texts.⁽⁵⁾ In taking decisions he was to seek the

(1) For details see N.H.I.P. Vol.III pp.359-362 or P.V.Kane p.

(2) Kāt. 8

(3) Ibid 16. The king may take his due share of tolls and taxes and fines etc. Kāt. 947-8.

(4) Ibid 55.

(5) Ibid 35-51.

help of various advisers, among whom were to be, according to Kātyāyana's original suggestion, merchants who formed a group or a guild.⁽¹⁾ The king is advised to appoint a learned Brahman in his stead if he finds it not possible to try cases himself. The members of the court should turn the king away from injustice if he gives orders to that effect.⁽²⁾ This last advice of Kātyāyana suggests that despite his divine attributes the king was expected to value the opinion of his advisers. An interesting point about judicial procedure as laid down by Kātyāyana is the differentiation between complete and summary trials. Brhaspati, Vyāsa, etc., use the term 'Jayapatra' for judgments given after both kinds of trial, but Kātyāyana⁽³⁾ reserves this word for judgment given in a case in which claims are cast off for various reasons without a thorough trial. The term used for judgment given after all the usual stages⁽⁴⁾ of a trial had been gone through is 'paścātakāra' or refutation. The latter term was known to Kauṭilya but had fallen into disuse until Kātyāyana revived it.

Several other jurists of the period, as quoted in books which were compilations of verses from the various Smṛtis, give their views on the powers and duties of the king.

(1) Ibid 57-9.

(2) Ibid 72-8

(3) Kāt. 259-65

(4) See Supra.

Hārīta requires the king to be well-versed in the Sāstras and acquainted with the duties of the varṇas and with those of the common people.⁽¹⁾ The king should also know the characteristics of vyavahāra (judicial proof) and (when giving judgment) act according to all this.⁽²⁾ According to Pitāmaha 'where no document exists, nor (proof of) possession, nor even witnesses, in such a case an ordeal need not be resorted to; there the authority is the king. For disputes of doubtful aspect.....the king is the authority, since he is the overlord of everything.'⁽³⁾ Devala regards the king as a god in human form, therefore none should harm him.⁽⁴⁾

We shall later quote the views of the Smṛtis on Rājadharmā in comparison with the administration of Harṣa as in practice.

For a counterpart of the Kauṭīliya on political theory we turn to Kāmandaka's Nītisāra on the Essence of Polity. The date of this work is yet another topic of controversy among the historians.

Manmath Nath Dutt⁽⁵⁾ in the late nineteenth century maintained that on the basis of the possession of a Kāmandakīya Nītisāra by the Hindus of Jāvā who were obliged to go to Bālī in the early 4th century A.D. - and the Balinese attribute all their Sanskrit literature to original Indian texts - the

(1) Prakṛītis or those outside the three varṇas as explained in the following verse by Pitāmaha.

(2) The Smṛticandrikā composed by Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa, p.51

(3) Ibid p.98.

(4) Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Prāyaścitakhaṇḍam 76-77.

(5) Trans. Kāmandaka. Preface p.

Kāmandakīya may be said to have been written by that date. Rajendralal Mitra in his preface to the Nītisāra also subscribes to the same view and dates the work about the beginning of the Christian era. The fact that Kāmandaka declares himself to be a disciple of Chāṇakya, also weighed with Mr. Dutt in dating the Nītisāra in proximity to the work which was its ideal. But Mr. Dutt also observes "Indeed, had it (Nītisāra) to be judged by its metres alone, they would have justified the inference that its origin is due to a much later age than that of Kālidāsa".

The possibility of a later period of composition for the Nītisāra is in fact the established opinion of writers today, though they have not been able to agree on a specific date. (1) According to T. Granapati Sāstrī the Nītisāra must have existed before Circa A.D. 550, since Daṇḍin, of the latter half of the 6th century, cites Kāmandaka at the end of the first chapter of the Daśakumāracarita. As Bhavabhūti, of the 7-8 A.D., named a female ascetic, conversant in the art of diplomacy - Kāmandakī, the knowledge of Kāmandaka and his work by Bhavabhūti is surmised. A.B. Keith, (2) dismisses the theory of the Kāmandakīya's early existence on the basis of the Bālī tradition but admits that its date can be determined only vaguely.

(1) The Nītisāra of Kāmandaka with commentary, ~~Kāmandakīya~~ ed. by T. G. Sāstrī. Preface.

(2) A History of Sanskrit Literature 1928 p. 462

According to him the Kāmandakīya is not known to the Pancatantra in its oldest form nor to Kālidāsa nor even to Dandin. Bhavabhūti's mention of Kāmandakī may have some significance but is not a dependable argument. Vāmana (Circa 800) knows it, so it may have been written in C.A.D.700. But Keith raises no strong objection to the belief of some that Kāmandaka was a contemporary of Varāhamihira (C.550), the astronomer and mathematician.

P. V. Kane, in his first volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra⁽¹⁾ assigns Kāmandaka to the 3rd century A.D. and further says⁽²⁾ that the Māhābhārata⁽³⁾ mentions Kāmandaka among writers on politics. But in Volume III of the same book⁽⁴⁾ Kāmandakīya Nītisāra is dated A.D.400 to 600. According to Professor Devasthali⁽⁵⁾ Kāmandaka probably composed his Nītisāra in the period A.D.700-750.

The age of Kāmandaka's Nītisāra may be fixed as Cir. A.D.450-550 on the following grounds. This period was productive of various Smṛti and Nīti texts of similar quality such as the works of Kātyāyana, Pitāmaha and Devala etc. which were mostly derivative and generally of lower stature and less importance than the earlier works, such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya.

(1) p.191

(2) p.100

(3) Mbh. XII, 4534.

(4) pp. XVii & xviii.

(5) H.C.I.P. Vol.III, p.300

Judging by its style the Kāmandakīya appears to be later than the works of Kālidāsa. Kātyāyana mentions the names of several Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti writers, such as Manu, Bhṛṅgu, Gautama and Bṛhaspati etc. while his knowledge of Kautilya and Nārada etc. is betrayed by several of his verses. He does not, however, mention Kāmandaka, probably either because Kāmandaka was either his contemporary or too recent an authority to be acknowledged, or because Kāmandaka belonged to a period a little later than Kātyāyana. Daṇḍin of the latter half of the 6th Century mentions Kāmandaka at the end of his first chapter of the Daśakumāracarita. There is no convincing reason to prove that the first chapter of this work is a later interpolation, as suggested by some writers. Chapter one of the Daśakumāracarita is an integral part of the rest of the book, so much so, that it would be extremely difficult to follow the story without reading the first chapter. From the references in the Mahābhārata, Vāmana and Bhavabhūti it seems certain that the Kāmandakīya had been composed before the time of Harṣa. By the middle ages Kāmandaka's name had passed into the traditional list of ancient Indian Nīti and Smṛti writers, and he is quoted alongside Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana in Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi.⁽¹⁾ We therefore conclude that his work may have been written within a century or so of the reign of Harṣa.

(1) 1260-1270.

We shall now give a brief synopsis of Kāmandaka's Nītisāra. The book consists of thirty six chapters, (1) in contrast to the 180 of the Arthaśāstrā of Kauṭilya. In fact, the work under consideration is a metrical version of the Kauṭīliya excluding the latter's chapters on civil law and the departments of administration. The arrangement and classification of Kāmandaka's material, however, are more convenient and precise than Kauṭilya's, and compensate to some extent for his lack of originality. It must be noticed, however, that though Kāmandaka takes his inspiration mainly from Kauṭilya and acknowledges his debt to the latter, the influence of the political thought of the Mahābhārata (2) may also be detected in his work. U. N. Ghoshal holds the same view in as far as Kāmandaka follows the example of the Mahābhārata in citing authoritative precedents for the justification of his Machiavellian principles of statecraft. (3)

(1) T. Ganapati Śāstrī's edition with 20 Sargas and 36 Prakaraṇas.

(2) Kāmandaka. Chapter 23, Śloka 16, p.213-6. 'Rulers of the earth doing good (kindness) to the people grow in prosperity; their growth depends on the growth of the people and their ruin on these latter's ruin'. cf. Mbh. Santi. (LXXI) 26-29 'In a thousand years the king expiates the sin which he commits in one day by his failure to protect his subjects from fear'. Ibid CXXXIX 100. 'The king who does not properly protect his subjects is a thief among kings.'

(3) H.C.I.P. Vol.III p.341 and Hindu Political Theories p.220

Kāmandaka, first of all, states his motive in writing this book in the following words ".....we shall inculcate, out of our love for the science of polity, a series of short and significant lessons to kings, directing them regarding the acquirement and preservation of territory....."(1)

In the thirty-six chapters of his book, Kāmandaka deals with various aspects of statecraft, which may be broadly brought under the following headings - Importance of the King, Education of the prince, protection of the established order of society, duties of master and servant, duties of subjects, the constituent elements of the Kingdom - which ^{are} said to be seven - the king, the ministers, kingdom, castle, treasury army and allies, ⁽²⁾ conduct of the 'Maṇḍala' - the circle of a king's near and distant neighbours both friends and foes; dealings with friends and enemies which include alliances, deliberation and annihilation of the enemy; duties of envoys and spies; army, invasions, and warfare.

We shall enlarge on the topic of the Maṇḍala since we believe that Harṣa's Empire was in some aspects constituted on that basis.

Harṣa had behind him the tradition of "a universal kingdom" (which he aspired to build, from the beginning of his

(1) 1st Prakaraṇa, Śloka 7-8, p.5.

(2) 4th Prakaraṇa, Śloka 1, p.48; Svāmī, Āmātya, Rāṣṭrā, Durga, Koṣa, Bala and Suhrda

career. He did achieve his aim according to the standards of his age, and his name has passed down in history as that of a great king. The title of Sakalottarapathanātha given to him by his great adversary of the south, Pulakeśin II, testifies to the extent of Harṣa's power. We know, however, that Harṣa was not destined to be as powerful as Candragupta Maurya or Candra Gupta II, who directly ruled large expanses of Indian territory. Though their power was considerable, most ancient Indian rulers had to content themselves with an indirect control over their distant territories for lack of developed systems of transport and communications. The outlying regions, at any suitable opportunity, would try to break away from the main body and to make a bid for supremacy. Since partial responsibility and rights satisfy the desire for power to some extent, many great emperors thought it best to reinstate the original rulers in the conquered states, provided the latter accepted a subordinate status. This course of action is approved by writers on statecraft. (1) Complete vassalage, friendly but subordinate alliance, or even a marriage alliance, were sought in diplomatic relations. The relationship between the central monarch and the subordinate kings may be termed "federal

(1) Arthaś VII, 16.

feudalism".⁽¹⁾ In ancient terminology the wide circle of such kings was termed "the Maṇḍala".

Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra defines Maṇḍala as does his disciple Kāmandaka in the Nītisāra, but we should not take these definitions as literally representative of the actual conditions, especially in Harṣa's time, not only because Harṣa's empire was not as extensive as Candragupta's, but also because the basic idea of a Maṇḍala had undergone much change in the several centuries that elapsed between the rules of the two monarchs.⁽²⁾ Whatever the changes, we may be sure that the widespread idea of Maṇḍala did operate in Harṣa's relationship with his immediate and distant neighbours.

The theoretical scheme of the Maṇḍala as laid down by Kauṭilya⁽³⁾ and Kāmandaka⁽⁴⁾ is as follows:

The circle consisted of twelve kings:

- (i) The Vijigīṣu - the would-be emperor or the central monarch.

- (1) Writing on "Interstate relations" in the N.H.I.P. p.314, R.C.Majumdar says : 'A kingdom or empire came to mean a fusion of two features which, for want of perfectly suitable terms, may be designated federalism and feudalism'. Even though the Arthaśāstra may not be the work of the historical Kautilya, it is very probable that it is at least in part based on a source deriving from an author who had witnessed the state of affairs under the Nanda dynasty and the invasion of Alexander.
- (2) Kauṭilya was inspired by the prevailing political conditions to stress the importance of a universal kingdom and ruthless authority.

(3) Artha. VI. 17.

(4) Kāmandaka V III. (Sarga)

In geographical order the five kings in front of his kingdom were:

- (2) Ari - the enemy
- (3) Mitra - the friend of the Vijigīṣu.
- (4) Arimitra - friend of the enemy.
- (5) Mitra-mitra - the friend's friend of the Vijigīṣu.
- (6) Ari-mitra-mitra - the friend's friend of the enemy.

Rearward, in geographical order were :

- (7) Pārṣṇigrāha - a rearward enemy.
- (8) Ākranda - a rearward friend.
- (9) Pārṣṇighāṣāra - friend of the enemy in the rear.
- (10) Ākrandāsāra - friend of the friend in the rear.

The circle was completed by :

- (11) Mādhyama, or the intermediary.
- (12) Udāsīna - the neutral.

It will be seen that the adjacent state is considered to be hostile, while the one beyond it is considered friendly throughout the circle. Udāsīna is the strongest existing power, next to the Vijigīṣu, and is in no need of a diplomatic alliance. Mādhyama is intermediate in strength, between the Udāsīna and the other powers. The Vijigīṣu, or central monarch, should, through diplomacy, maintain his superiority in this circle of kings.

The presence of the Udāsīna and the Mādhyama in the scheme seems rather illogical, since every neighbouring king is an enemy, either potential or actual. The texts are silent about the geographical location of the Udāsīna and Mādhyama in relation to the Vijigīṣu. It may be that they were thought of as kings possessing territory adjoining that of both contending parties, and therefore more or less uninterested in the outcome of the war. After his strong neighbour, Śaśāṅka, had been curbed, the King of Kāmarūpa, though an ally of Harṣa, could have had little interest in the outcome of Harṣa's campaigns. Harṣa's ally, the King of Valabhi, could have acted as an intermediary between Harṣa and the Gurjara King of Broach, whose kingdom lay next to Harṣa's enemy Pulakeśin II.

The discussion of the 'Maṇḍala' would be incomplete without a summary of the chapters on how the central monarch should maintain his relations with the several kings of his circle. Kauṭilya⁽¹⁾ guides the king on inter-state relations, and divides them in different categories, which Kāmandaka⁽²⁾ repeats :-

1. Sandhi - (Treaty of peace or) alliance.
2. Vighraha - war.
3. Āsana - neutrality.
4. Yāna - preparing for attack without declaring war.

(1) Artha. Bk. VII. Ch. I.

(2) Kāmandaka. IX. (Śaṅga)

5. Saṁśraya - Seeking protection of another.
6. Dvaidhībhāva - making peace with one and waging war with the other.

Of the first item of this list, alliance, the texts mention two forms - the subordinate alliance of a vassal to his overlord, and the alliance of equals.

A vassal,⁽¹⁾ without the permission of his overlord, could not, among other things, build forts, celebrate marriages, instal an heir-apparent, trade in horses, capture elephants, march against an enemy, or hold tournaments and other martial sports. He was required to invoke the blessing of the gods on his overlord when worshipping or praying.⁽²⁾

Conditions of peace between states of unequal power, obviously meant humiliation for the inferior power. Broadly speaking, the latter was required to secede territory (any part or the capital), pay tribute (in cash or kind, in one or more instalments) and supply military help (with his son, his commander or himself as the head of the army).

The mutual conduct of independent kings in alliance with each other has also been discussed by the two books on statecraft. Such alliances might be formed to forward various

(1) Kaut. Artha. Shamasastry - Eng. Ed. 1929, p.337

(2) This, in religious grants by vassals, we find the names of their overlords placed first.

interests, to acquire land or riches, to construct forts, or, above all, against a common enemy.

Oaths usually sufficed as guarantee for the fulfilment of a promise, but, according to certain policy-makers, hostages were also necessary.⁽¹⁾ A set of rules prevailed in diplomatic relations, and was generally respected by all states concerned.⁽²⁾

Having surveyed the tradition of political thought and statecraft that lay behind Harṣa, we are in a position to examine and interpret his methods of administration. Because of the nature of the literature on political theory and the practical problems connected with its application, we ^{should be} ~~are also~~ prepared to accept certain inconsistencies between theory and practice. We shall now examine contemporary literary works, travel accounts and inscriptions, to obtain a general impression of Harṣa's administration.

(2) Megasthenes as in McCrindle, Frag.i. Manu vii, 90ff. Mbh. Śānti, XCV 7 ff.

(1) Artha. 7. XVII.

Apart from the fact that in his 'Records' Hsuan-tsang expressly pays tribute to the administrative methods of the country in general and to Harṣa's industry, ability and system of government in particular, the effect gained from reading the entire work is that, on the whole, seventh century India was a prosperous and civilised country, with considerable attainments in the fields of material, moral and intellectual development. The presence of great trade centres is indicated by the use of the Ganges as the water highway, by ^{the} use of the sea-routes for return to China by Fa-hsien and I-tsing, and other references. That education and intellectual activity were widespread is shown by the flourishing university of Nālandā and by the fact that religious and philosophical debates were commonplace. The people are said to have been kind, honest, god-fearing and of exceptionally clean habits of living and eating. (1)

'The Life' too gives the impression of general well-being in Harṣa's reign. There were scores of sanghārāmas and temples, according to the size of the various cities, and thousands of monks resided in them. The pilgrim received liberal hospitality wherever he went, and was offered presents of material gifts several times, which, being a pious Buddhist monk, he invariably refused to accept. We hear of common

(1) Beal I pp. 83, ^{774 / II.5 + II.8a} ~~They are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft....and are faithful to their oaths and promises..... They are sweet and gentle.~~
^{would not take what is not due to them}
^{In their customs they value harmony.}

people contributing their wealth and valuables to construct a sanghārāma in order to provide a 'benefice' for a monk who much impressed them. ⁽¹⁾ We again read of learned and virtuous people, frequent debates, brick and stone houses, gardens, tanks, rest-houses and almshouses, and of several golden statues of the Buddha. The general impression is one of prosperity. ⁽²⁾

The literary works of Harṣa's reign point to the existence of similar conditions. The factors contributory to the country's riches which existed before Harṣa's advent were further encouraged by the fact that the various warring states came to be controlled by a strong central monarch. The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin, composed not long before the time of Harṣa, ⁽³⁾ gives ample evidence that trade flourished in India during his period, and that countless commodities flooded the Indian market. The householders were happy and contented, arts and crafts were valued, and public places such as halls in which dancing, sports or debates took place were kept busy. Among other countries trade was carried on with an island named Kālayavanadvīpa, ⁽⁴⁾ by which Africa may be meant.

(1) Life, p.97/p.235b (2) ~~Ibid p.101.~~ (3) Keith p.297.

(4) Kālayavanadvīpa, i.e. Black Foreigners' Land. According to Bühler, quoted on p.10 of Kāle's notes on Daśakumāracarita, this term indicates probably Zanzibar or the coast of Arabia.

The several works of Harṣa's contemporary, Bāṇa, abound in evidence of the country's prosperity and its people's happiness under Harṣa's rule. Kādambarī⁽¹⁾ and the Harṣacarita are indeed the mirrors that reflect the court life and the social life of India in the seventh century. Widespread trade is again suggested by certain references in these works, and in Harṣa's own plays. The story of the 'Ratnāvalī' points to the existence of a particularly busy trade-route between India and Ceylon. Exchange of commodities with countries of the north-west was just as flourishing, because we find numerous references to the best breeds of horses from Kamboja and Persia, etc. Cloth as well as a form of dress seems to have been imported from China,⁽²⁾ for the people of Harṣa's period were familiar with them.

Arts and crafts flourished at this time, as may be seen from Bāṇa's detailed description of the preparations for Rājyaśrī's marriage. City dwellers lived in rows of white-washed, single or double storeyed houses. Produce was plentiful, and in general people led unhindered lives. They ate good, wholesome food, and wore pleasant clothes and ornaments.

(1) p.210 ff for a vivid description of life in the city of Ujjayini.

(2) Cīnāmśuka, i.e. Chinese silk. H.C. Text pp.36, 167 and 242 (also mentioned in Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā) and Cīnacolaka, i.e. Chinese coat, Ibid p.206. Also V.S.Agravala's observations on these two, pp.78 & 151.

The description by Bāṇā of a forest dwelling in the Vindhya region is complete to the last detail.⁽¹⁾ The village seems to have been prosperous and well-governed, and the village economy very well balanced, but, being situated in a forest, the place was not free from the danger of robbers. This danger seems to have been prevalent in many parts of Harṣa's empire which were either sparsely populated or contained dense jungles. Neither the Chinese nor ^{the} indigenous sources of the Gupta age refer to such acts of lawlessness in that period. It seems, therefore, that conditions of safety became bad after the fall of the Central Gupta authority, and continued to be so in the more remote parts of Harṣa's Kingdom.

Harṣa's own plays are also useful as literary evidence on conditions of his time. They also reflect on the King's own beliefs and character. The themes of the plays, especially of the Ratnāvalī and the Priyadarśikā, are simple and similar, and the blessings of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Indra are invoked in both the plays. The Nāgānanda, from its maturity, seems to have been Harṣa's last work. It has a Buddhist theme and Buddha is the deity invoked for blessings. This is a unique case in Sanskrit drama, and the appearance of the goddess Gaurī in the same play as the gracious boon-giver points, not only to the King's own mixed religious beliefs, but also to the tendency of the times.

(1) H.C. Tr. pp. 225-8.

The dramatist king shows his concern for the welfare of his country in all his three plays. The opening and the closing stanzas of the Ratnāvalī seek God's blessing on the king and his people. The closing stanzas of the other two plays are also prayers for God's grace on the land and its people. The king in Nāgānanda seeks the following boon from the goddess: "May the clouds in due season let loose their showers,.....May they clothe the earth with green harvests in a continual succession! And may all my subjects, accumulating good works, and freed from all calamities, rejoice with minds untainted by envy, tasting unbroken pleasure in the society of relations and friends".

This traditional ideal of the kings of most Sanskrit plays, of a happy people enjoying the fruits of their ruler's efficient administration, was thus, also, the ideal of Harṣa's hero.

From ancient times until the last century a very important factor that has contributed to making an administration efficient and a reign great and successful has been the King's own personality. The officers of the administrative machine served only as so many hands and eyes of the King, acting efficiently and vigorously if their master was able and strong, and lapsing into lassitude and apathy if he was incompetent

and weak. A King's main support lay in loyal and wise ministers, a strong army, and strong but not too powerful allies, secured through diplomacy. The King was thus the central figure of the empire. Therefore, before discussing the general notions of monarchy in the seventh century and the details of Harṣa's administrative system, we shall first try to form an estimate of Harṣa as a king.

According to the Harṣacarita, he was a promising youth whose training as a prince fully equipped him for a royal career. The meaningful incident of the deathbed bequest of royalty ~~to~~ Harṣa, the younger son, by his father, either indicates that he was superior in ability to his elder brother, Rājyavardhana, - a conjecture entirely unsupported - and therefore favoured for succession by Prabhākaravardhana, or is an improvisation to lend a different colour to Harṣa's act of usurpation.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa's personality must have been strong to have inspired confidence and loyalty in his ministers at the very outset of his reign. Bhaṇḍi secured the approval of the ministers of Kanauj for Harṣa's accession to their vacant throne, and Siṃhanāda advised him to embark on a comprehensive scheme

(1) See ^{above} ~~infra~~ pp 136-66. To his father's wish ^{that he should} ~~to~~ succeed ^{to} the throne, Harṣa acquiesced in silence. With this background Bāṇa later makes him listen, quietly, to his elder Brother's desire to abdicate in favour of himself, though the author adds that all the time Harṣa reflected on the impropriety of transgressing the natural right of the King's first-born.

of conquest. Harṣa acted shrewdly in connection with the Maukhari Kingdom. He gave prior attention to the rescue of his sister, even in comparison with the need of his presence in a war against an important enemy. Because, although the armies of Sthāṇviśvara had saved Kanauj from falling into the hands of the King of Mālava, and Harṣa was the elder brother of the widow of the King of Kanauj, the Maukhari Kingdom had to be occupied cautiously, with sufficient popular and supernatural support. The fact that his sister was alive and living at Kanauj, gave Harṣa the right to protect her and her deceased husband's kingdom. As we learn from Hsüan-tsang, his strong attachment to his family was forwarded as an argument in favour of his succession to the throne of Kanauj.⁽¹⁾

Harṣa's shrewdness and political wisdom were matched by his daring and ambition in personal as well as state affairs. Bāṇā tells us that he risked his life in saving that of his friend Kumāra.⁽²⁾ The Records of Hsüan-tsang contain the account of an assembly for religious discussion in which an attempt was made on the King's life; the ministers demanded that the traitor should be killed immediately, but Harṣa, without trace of panic, fearlessly interrogated the offender.⁽³⁾ In

(1) Beal I. p.211 and above p.159

(2) H.C. Trans. p.76.

(3) Beal I pp.220-1.

important wars Harṣa led his army in person. His ambition to become a 'Cakravartin', only partially realised, is appropriately expressed by Bāṇa in the following words: 'Let a proclamation be engraved. As far as the Orient Hill.....as far as Suvela (in Ceylon).....as far as the Western Mount.... as far as the Gandhamādana; let all kings prepare their hands to give tribute or grasp swords.....let them bend their heads or their bows.....'(1)

Harṣa was a hard-working king. Writing of his industry, Hsuan-tsang tells us that the king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government and two were devoted to religious works. He says, 'The King was indefatigable and the day was too short for him. He forgot food and sleep in his devotion to good works'.(2)

The fact that Harṣa was familiar with the whole of his extensive empire must have added to his abilities of an administrator. A knowledge of the geography of each region, as well as of the temperaments of the people who dwelt in them, must have helped him in a correct choice of local governors. As a prince, Harṣa had travelled in the north-western region, acting as a kind of rearguard of his brother's army which had gone to chastise the Hūnas. Immediately after he became the King he traversed most of the Vindhya region, in search of his

(1) H. C. trans. p.187.

(2) Beal I, p.215 / V. 4a
Watters I, p.344.

sister. In the six years following his accession, Harṣa, with his armies, covered the 'five Indies' from east to west, inspecting some kingdoms and subduing others. From time to time throughout his reign Harṣa invaded new territories, and it seems to us that he made it a rule to inspect his domains and give fresh orders on his journeys. We find him encamped at Maṇitāra,⁽¹⁾ in riverside villages near Sthānviśvara and Kanauj,⁽²⁾ and at Vardhamānakoti⁽³⁾ and Kapitthika,⁽⁴⁾ whence he issued his Banskhera and Madhuban plates. While returning from the victorious campaign in Orissa he stopped at Kajangala,⁽⁶⁾ whence he sent a message to Kumāra of Kāmarūpa to send back the Master of Law to his own court. Hsüan-tsang tells us that 'if there was any irregularity in the manners of the people he went amongst them'.

Though Harṣa moved in great state, as we learn from Bāṇā's vivid account, there are unfortunately no monuments which might remind us of his luxurious 'travelling palaces'. The structures were temporary, made of wood and cut grass, and were burnt down on the emperor's departure.⁽⁵⁾ In 'The Life' we read that a special ceremonial distinguished the emperor's march from that of any other King of the realm. Harṣa was always accompanied

(1) Oudh, H.C. Trans. p.46.

(2) H.C. Trans. pp.198 & 223.

(3) Ahicchatra.

(4) Śrāvastī; Life p.173.

(5) H.C. Trans. p.198 and Life p.177

(6) Beal I p.215. ~~(Hsüan-tsang's account of his journey to the West)~~
Walters II p.183
Cunningham p.548

by several hundred drummers, who beat one stroke on their golden drums for every step taken. These drums were called the ^{regulating} ~~music~~-pace-drums (~~ch~~ieh-pu-ku). (1)

The ceremonial marches of the King, accompanied by his vassal princes, and the display of regal splendour on religious and festive occasions, served the dual purpose of winning the admiration of the subjects and impressing on the princes the fact of the King's supreme authority. The events and episodes related in both the Sanskrit and the Chinese works shew that Harṣa struck the right balance in his relationship with the subordinate kings of his 'Maṇḍala'. He gave them due honour and importance, yet kept them in their places. Thus, the discourse between Harṣa and the ambassador of Kāmarūpa, as given by Bānā, is indeed a clever piece of diplomatic conversation, and is representative of the relations which were maintained between the two kings throughout Harṣa's reign. Hsüan-tsang relates an incident in which the King of Kāmarūpa, when he insolently refused to part company with his Chinese guest (Hsüan-tsang himself) and sent the message, 'the King can take my head but not the master of the law', was peremptorily asked by Harṣa to send his head with the messenger. Soon after this incident, however, Kūmāra of Kāmarūpa was given

(1) Life, p.173. / p.247a

the honour of walking beside Harṣa in the grand quinquennial procession at Prayāga.

Harṣa's special treatment of the two Mālava princes, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, prevented the resurgence of the later Gupta dynasty until after his death. The King of Kashmir was overawed by a show of force and compelled to give to Harṣa a valued relic of the Buddha. The alliance of Dhruvabhaṭṭa of Valabhi, of great importance in view of the danger from Pulakeśin II, was secured by Harṣa by giving to him his daughter in marriage.

With regard to newly annexed territories, Harṣa followed the rule prescribed by writers on statecraft that the wisest policy was to reëstate conquered princes as tributary chiefs, and to act in the conquered land according to native customs.⁽¹⁾ We read in the Harṣacarita: '.....he took away the couch-shells of the lords of armies, not their jewels;seized the majesty of monarchs,⁽²⁾ not their hardness'. Harṣa seems to have been on friendly terms with neighbouring countries, to whom he wrote asking to extend facilities of travel and stay to the Chinese pilgrim. He also had diplomatic contact with the Chinese emperor.

Harṣa's benevolent administration, which we shall later describe in detail, won him the loyalty of his people. His

(1) Artha.

(2) Or 'mountains' H.C. Trans.p.217.

justice was mild in as far as no capital punishment was inflicted. Prisoners, however, had a miserable existence. (1) Hsuan-tsang tells us that the officials were not allowed to exact unpaid labour. Taxation was low and people's lives were not interfered with. The State built for the people, especially for the pious and the travellers, Stūpas and Puṇyaśālās (hospices and lodging houses). Refuges were established to provide food and drink for the poor, with physicians for their medical care. (2)

Harṣa's literary and artistic accomplishments must have added to his popularity. He has three plays to his credit and, on Bāṇā's testimony, seems to have been a lute player of some reputation. (3) He was an able calligraphist also, as can be seen from the Banskhera plate, whereon the florid but beautiful signature is explicitly stated to be Harṣa's own. (4) Moreover, Harṣa liberally patronised literary merit; not only are the praises of Bāṇā a proof of this, but Hsuan-tsang also writes: 'He extensively arranged for philosophic and religious discussions. ~~Men were promoted or degraded according to the merits of their arguments. He judged for himself their several arguments, he~~ promoted the men of talent, he conducted one, with high moral precepts and clarity of reason (or purity of religion) to the 'Lion throne' and received from him the precepts of law. If

(1) Beal I p. 83

(2) Beal I pp. 87+114. For Puṇyaśālās etc. also at Takkā 14-15 li north-east of Sākalā see Beal I p. 166.

(3) H.C. Trans. pp. 73 & 75
Text pp. 61 & 63.

(4) ^{also,} H.C. Text p. 66. The phrase 'Vibhramakṛtasthiti' probably alludes to Harṣa's florid style of writing.

anyone, though distinguished for purity of life, had no distinction for learning, he was revered but not highly honoured.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa's love for learning and the learned, combined with the authority of kingship, must have developed in him a very cultured personality.

Contemporary evidence thus reveals Harṣa as an ambitious king who, having gained the kingdom, strove to increase its boundaries; as a moderately good administrator, industrious, of literary inclination, charitable and very fond of pomp and show.

Having formed a picture of the man who was at the helm of affairs, we shall now discuss the political institutions of Harṣa's day and the details of his administrative machinery.

Hereditary monarchy was the prevailing form of government in Harṣa's period, though we may trace the last remains of the once flourishing republics of the early Gupta days in Hsüan-tsang's records. Writing about the administration of Kapilavastu, he says: "There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler".⁽²⁾ The traditional local system of government in the birthplace of the Buddha may have been allowed to continue to function, though it must have assimilated most of the characteristics of the administrative methods applied in the neighbouring kingdoms ruled directly by the central government. Kapilavastu, therefore, though well within the boundaries

(1) Beal I pp. 214-15 / v. 4 b

(2) Beal II. p. 14.

of Harṣa's empire, probably continued to enjoy a restricted form of internal autonomy. The city, however, was not one of the more prosperous ones of Harṣa's kingdom, and seems to have been quite small.

The doctrine of the divinity of the King held good in Harṣa's period, as is evident from the contemporary political and literary works. The Smṛti literature, ⁽¹⁾as we have seen, endows the King with divine attributes. According to Manu, he is a special creation, produced by the High God to dispel 'mātsyanyāya', and formed of portions of the eight lokapālas. ⁽²⁾Kings, in their inscriptions, referred to their divine status in their titles and panegyrics, and they were regularly addressed by their courtiers as 'deva' or god. Bāṇa invariably uses this term for Harṣa, and his predecessors in the Harṣacarita, and at one place he addresses Harṣa as Parameśvara. ⁽³⁾In practice, however, the divine status of the King made little difference to the body politic. Divinity did not invest the King with infallibility. The Smṛtis expect their King to abide by the laws of Dharma, and declare that the King who fails to fulfil his duties heads for disaster. ⁽⁴⁾The Mahābhārata also, as we have seen, sanctions revolt against an oppressive King. ⁽⁵⁾

(1) ~~See above~~ pp 247, 249

(2) Text p. 77, Trans. p. 56

(3) Manu VII 3-4

(4) Manu VII 111-112

(5) Mbh. Śānti. Rājadharmakusāsana Parva Section XCII

Buddhists and Jainas, of course, explicitly deny the King's godhead. The more rational of the King's courtiers, apparently, did not believe in the King's divinity or infallibility. Harṣa's own court poet, Bāṇā, is even more vehement than the authorities we have mentioned in his condemnation of the totalitarian tendencies of the King. In his story, 'Kādambarī', (1) he says that only weak and foolish monarchs are taken in by the flattery of roguish courtiers. By looking upon himself as having alighted on earth as a divine being with a superhuman destiny, though in reality subject to all mortal conditions, the stupid king only wins the contempt of his people. In the biography of his patron, Bāṇā makes the villagers express their grievances against certain malpractices of the administrator. (2)

The accepted title of a great king in Harṣa's time was 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja', literally meaning 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage - the supreme King of Kings'. This title was inherited from the Gupta empire. Paramount sovereignty in the seventh century, however, did not connote what it did a few centuries earlier, because no sooner did a king entertain the idea of universal conquest, and achieve the position of the first among his rivals, than

(1) Kādambarī, tr. C.M.Ridding, p.82.

(2) H.C. Trans. p.208.

he styled himself Paramabhṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa's grandfather, Ādityavardhana, falls into this category and is given these titles in the official genealogy; the same titles are also given to Harṣa's father, Rābhākaravardhana, and to his elder brother Rājyavardhana on slightly better grounds. The use of these epithets for Harṣa himself, however, is quite justified from the record of his conquests and the extent of his empire. The epithet 'Sakalottharapathanātha' bestowed on him by his adversary Pulakeśin II further strengthens the authenticity of his claim.

The crown usually passed to the eldest son, who was installed to the office of 'Yuvarāja' on coming of age. In a few cases a younger son was selected for succession if he definitely surpassed the eldest son in ability. In Western India the practice of brother-to-brother succession was known. Under the Western Kṣatrapas this was usual. When all the brothers were dead the crown passed to the eldest son^{of the eldest brother.}⁽²⁾ This practice had its influence on the Maitrakas of Valabhi.⁽³⁾

(1) Some examples are:

- (a) Īśanavarman C.A.D. 550 was styled Mahārājādhirāja. The Queens are given the titles of Bhṭṭārikā and Devī. Asīrgarh inscription of Sarvavarman C.II Vol.III p.221
- (b) Ādityasena Cir.A.D. 650-75 and his successors of the later Gupta dynasty are styled Paramabhṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara, and their queens, Paramabhṭṭārikā and Mahādevī. Mandar Hill Inscription CII Vol.III p.211
- (c) The Valabhi Kings from Dharasena IV onwards are known as Paramabhṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Cakravartin. Alina Copper Plates of Siladitya VII C.II Vol.III p.171

(2) Rapson, Catalogue of the Indian Coins (Andhras, W. Kshatrapas etc.) p. c/iii.

(3) See above p. 88 ff

The female members of the royal family seldom figure prominently in the affairs of state. Princess Rājyaśrī's name occurs in the Chinese Records⁽¹⁾ in the context of the religious discourses given by Hsüan-tsang for the benefit of the Royal family. The importance given to Rājyaśrī may be attributed to Harṣa's affection and sympathy for his young widowed sister, as well as to the fact that Harṣa took possession of the Kingdom of Kanauj, which had once been ruled by Rājyaśrī's husband. In addition to all this, her superior intelligence, to which Hsüan-tsang testifies, may have won for her a distinguished position.

The lesser kings, in this period, were known as Rājās and Mahārajas, and generally owed allegiance to the paramount sovereign. The subordinate Kings who attended the marriage of the Princess Rājyaśrī - those who were in the capital at the time of Prabhākaravardhana's death, and those who accompanied Harṣa on his 'Digvijaya' - have been variously called by Bāṇā, Rājā, Bhūpala, Pārthiva, Kumāra, Kṣitipāla and Narapati, etc. Lower than them in status were the Mahāsāmantas and Sāmantās. Not long before Harṣa's time the terms implied petty rulers of small territories, fairly independent in internal affairs,⁽²⁾ but during Harṣa's reign they seem to have been employed directly by the King too, as officers of his administrative staff.⁽³⁾

(1) Life, p.176.

(2) The sealmatrix of Śaśāṅka found at Rohtasgarh bestows on him the title of Mahāsāmanta.

(3) Harṣa's inscriptions.

The number of these petty Kings of various grades increased rapidly once the practice of payment in form of land and land-revenue had been started, after the Maurya period. There were vassal chiefs who were expected to pay regular tribute to their emperor, and to assist him with troops and funds in war. Hsuan-tsang tells us that Harṣa's force was furnished with the armies of the Five Indies when he attacked Pulakeśin, and that vassals and their wives rendered their services to the King. The vassal's sons might be educated with the royal princes, and give them subordinate companionship during their youth. Bhaṇḍi and the two Mālava princes, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, were brought to the royal palace during the lifetime of Prabhākaravardhana and served Harṣa loyally to the end. A vassal king might even act as a minister. The King of Jālandhara seems to have been responsible for the religious activities of the State in Harṣa's reign. The defeated enemies, who were usually restored to their lands, were also treated as 'Sāmantas' or feudatory kings, and were kept on a different level from kings who themselves sought friendship or subordinate alliance with the paramount ruler. (1)

Whatever the other rights of a feudatory King, his chief source of power was the land he held and the income he derived from it. His status, therefore, has been determined on that

(1) N.H.I.P. Vol.VI p.280 and Basham p.94.

basis by works on Indian polity. The Śukranītisāra, though it has allusions to data belonging to the medieval period, is an illuminating source of information on earlier institutions, as well, since much of its material is evidently inherited from older tradition. It tells us that the whole land of the realm was surveyed and the land revenue fixed. A revenue of 1,000 silver kārṣapaṇas was fixed on 1,000 sīras of land.⁽¹⁾ The same system of land-survey and land revenue seems to have existed in Harṣa's time, since we find him donating 100 villages, each 1,000 sīras in area, to Brāhmana donees at the beginning of his march.⁽²⁾ One whose income amounted to one hundred thousand silver kārṣapaṇas was styled Sāmanta.⁽³⁾ The status rose with the income and the Śukranītisāra gives a detailed list of landholders, from the Sāmanta or chief to the paramount King, with their respective incomes. The Mānasāra⁽⁴⁾ even gives details of the different kinds of crowns to be worn by the chiefs and kings of different grades.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Sīra = plough. One sīra of land was that which could be ploughed with one plough, (approx. 4 - 5 acres).

(2) H.C. Text p.203. 'Sīra Sahasrasaṁmīta - sīmṇāṁ grāmaṇaṁ śatamadaddviḥebhyaḥ.

(3) 182- 186.

(4) A book on ancient Indian architecture, iconography and allied subjects named after a sage of that name and dated circa A.D.500 (in the preface p.) by its editor, Prasanna Kumar Acharya (Leiden 1918)

(5) Mānasāra 49/12-16.

For various reasons the incomes of the Sāmantas fell, as time advanced. Their number increased while the value of their title deteriorated, their holdings became smaller and thus fetched smaller revenues. The method of valuation of the revenue may also have changed under later kings. The Aparājitāprcchā⁽¹⁾ a work of the A.D. 12 - 13th century, gives a list of the diminished revenues of the landholders and fixes the income of a Sāmanta at ten thousand kārṣāpanas⁽²⁾ instead of the one hundred thousand of the Śukranītisāra.

A list given by the Śukranītisāra⁽³⁾ provides us with the following gradations of landholders : Sāmanta, Māṇḍalika, Rājā, Mahārāja, Svarāṭ, Samrāṭ, Virāt and Sārvabhaum. The 'Aparājitāprcchā'⁽⁴⁾ supplies us with even more gradations, such as the lesser and chief (laghu and mukhya) Sāmantas, Māṇḍalikas and Māṇḍalesas. The 'Prccchā' adds that a King bearing the epithet of Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara is expected to have a certain number of all types of lesser rulers, as well as certain other office bearers in attendance at his court.⁽⁵⁾

We find some of these title-holders mentioned both in the 'Records' and in the Harṣacarita. Though Hsuan-tsang does

(1) This is another minutely detailed treatise on ancient Indian architecture, its title literally meaning 'the questionnaire framed by Aparājita'. The questions are answered by Viśvakarman, the divine architect of ancient Indian legend. The author is Bhuvanadeva. The work has been 'attributed' to the 12th Century A.D. or the first half of the 13th Century A.D. (Preface p.) by its editor Popadbhai Ambashankar Mankad.

(2) Aparājitāprcchā p.203 82/5-10.

See next page for ^{foot notes (3) to (5)} ff 3-5

not translate the titles literally in Chinese, the presence of their possessions at Harṣa's court is confirmed by certain references in his work. (1) Bāṇā mentions the different kinds of feudatories present at Harṣa's court in connection with his first visit to the royal quarters. In the first three outer courts of the palace he saw 'conquered hostile vassal chiefs', and other Kings, natives of various countries who had come in admiration of ^{his} ~~his~~ glory to pay voluntary homage. (2)

(3) from previous page....
182 - 186.

(4) Ap. Pr. pp.203-282.

(5) Ibid p.196, 78/32-34. Four Māṇḍaleśas, 12 Māṇḍalikas, 16 Mahāsāmantās, 32 Sāmantās, 160 Laghusāmantās, 400 Caturāśikas, and 12 Dandanāyakas & 2 Prātihāras.

(1) this page.....
Beal I p.218 - 'The Kings of 20 countries who had received instruction from Śīlāditya Rājā assembled.....' or
Ibid p.215 - 'If any of the neighbouring princes....lived religiously he honoured him and called him ~~illustrious~~ good friend'. or p.218 - 'The two Kings (Harṣa and Kumāra of Assam) led the way.....' (while other Kings followed). This shows that Kumāra of Assam was treated on a different level from the rest of the Kings. He was independent of Harṣa but a subordinate friend, anxious to keep the sovereign pleased. Because of Kumāra's strength and strategic position, however, Harṣa took the former's wishes into account and honoured him on occasions like the quinquennial assemblies.

(2) H.C. Text p.60. 'Śatrumahāsāmantaiḥ samantādāsevyamānaḥ, anyaiśca pratāpānurāgāgatairnānādeśajairmahīpālaiḥ prati-pālayadbhirnarapatidarsanakālamadhyāsyamānaḥ.....'
V.S.Agravāla p.43, interprets differently.

Having passed through the three courts crowded with subject Kings⁽¹⁾ Bāṇā reached the fourth, where he saw Harṣa seated, surrounded at a distance by his attendants.⁽²⁾ In a description of the King resplendent in his glory there is once again a metaphorical reference to the various kinds of feudatories owing allegiance to ^{him} Harṣa.⁽³⁾ The passage concerned may be translated thus: "His feet were very red, as with wrath, at the fact that the Lokapālas (i.e. the gods guarding the quarters) were still unconquered,⁽⁴⁾ and they shed a very bright ruby-light on the crowded crests of the 'prostrate' monarchs, and caused a sunset of all 'the circle' of glorious ones (i.e. Kings) and poured streams of honey from the flowers of the crest garlands of all the Kings', and were never even for one moment

(1) H.C. Text p.69 'Bhūpālasahasrasaṅkulāni'

(2) Ibid. 'Maulena Śarīraparicārakalokena' = bodyguards. Comm: Maulbhrītākāśreṇimītrāmītrātavikabhedena ṣaṭaparakārāḥ sahāyā bhavanti. Anyatra mule budhne bhavaṃ maulaṃ.

(3) H.C. Text p.72

(4) H.C. Text p.72 'Apranatalokapālakoṇe.....' C. & T. p.59 translate it as: '...with wrath at unsubmissive Kings'. V.S.Agravala p.45 interprets it similarly. We take 'Lokapālas' to mean 'gods of the quarters' because we think that Bāṇā wishes to convey that his King (idealised) has already conquered the whole world; the heavenly realms of the Lokapālas are therefore all that is left for him to conquer.

(5) Ibid 'Sārvatejasvimandala' C. & T. give 'the fierce luminaries of war' which seems to be based on another text.

unattended, as by the heads of slain enemies, by swarms of bees which fluttered bewildered at the sweet odour of the chaplets on the heads of all the 'feudal chiefs'....."

While the more important feudatories paid homage to their sovereign by their attendance on him, or by merely being present on state occasions, such as religious debates and assemblies, or royal weddings, etc., the lesser chiefs served the King on a variety of occasions, and many were appointed officials in various branches of administration. The Sāmantas and Mahāsāmantas belonged to this class, and we have numerous references to their service of the King in the Harṣacarita.

We learn from Baṇḍ⁽¹⁾ that Puṣṭapabhūti, the founder of the Vardhana line of Kings, made the Mahāsāmantas pay their tribute. Several faithful Sāmantas were present at the time of Prabhākara-vardhana's death.⁽²⁾ Ministers and devoted Mahāsāmantas accompanied Rājyavardhana on his campaign against the Hūnas.⁽³⁾ After his father's death Rājyavardhana declined to accept⁽⁴⁾ the throne, thereby causing much sorrow to his faithful Sāmantas.

(1) H.C. Text p.100, Trans. p.85 '.....neighbouring sovereigns, whom his arms might had conquered and made tributary.'

(2) H.C. Text p.155. Trans. p.138 '....faithful feudatories in agony.....'

(3) H.C. Text p.150, Trans. p.132 - '....sent him attended by ancient advisers and devoted feudatories.....'

(4) H.C. Text p.182. Trans. p.173 - '.....Despondent feudatories sighed.....'

Among the Sāmantas some seem to have been of higher rank than others. It is possible that special tasks were assigned to certain Sāmantas on the basis of their ability, or seniority, and they were designated as 'Pradhāna', or chief Sāmantas.⁽¹⁾ That their opinions carried some weight with the King may be inferred from a phrase in the Harṣacarita, ^{which states that} ~~According to it~~ the wishes of the chief Sāmantas were not over-ridden.⁽²⁾

The "Śāstru Mahāsāmantas", or the conquered enemy chiefs, are placed by Bāṇa in a class by themselves, since the treatment meted out to them was different from that given to friendly feudatories.⁽³⁾ Bāṇa also introduced the term 'Pratisāmantas',⁽⁴⁾ by which he probably means the feudatories of hostile Kings.

The forest-chiefs were known as "Āṭavika Sāmantas".⁽⁵⁾ Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription mentions among ^{his} the van-quished ^{enemies} Āṭavika Kings, and the Khoh Copper plate inscription of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha also refers to 'aṣṭādaś-āṭavī-rājya', or the 18 forest kingdoms.⁽⁶⁾ Vindhyāṭavī is another common term found in the inscriptions, and these forests of the Vindhya Mountains have been identified⁽⁷⁾ with the whole extent of country from Mathurā to the Narmadā.⁽⁸⁾

(1) They were probably allotted special seats in the King's court and may have been allowed to carry certain ornamental articles on ceremonial occasions.

(2) H.C. Text p.178

(3) H.C. Trans. pp.48-49

(4) H.C. Text p.200, trans.p.194

(5) H.C. Text p.232

(6) C.I.I. Vol.III p.13 & 116

(7) Monier Williams p.

footnote (8)

The Āṭāvika Sāmantas, in Harṣa's period, were the holders and rulers of the small territories which together comprised the whole Āṭavī Rājya, or the forest kingdoms of the Vindhya. According to the Harṣacarita, there was a lord of the whole Vindhya range, a general of the Śabarās, the leader of all the village-chiefs, named Bhūkampa. (1) From his description he seems to have been a non-Aryan hillman, an Āṭavika Mahāsāmanta of considerable power in the beginning of Harṣa's reign, though he showed his respect for the King by offering him all possible help in the search of the lost princess. When Harṣa was well-established as a powerful King, the forest chiefs must have occupied the same position in his court as other Sāmantas, and paid their homage to the King by presenting themselves at his court from time to time with suitable gifts from their forest kingdoms. (2) Their adjective ^{āṭavik} continued to be applied to them to signify their rule over the traditional Āṭavī kingdoms.

(8) from previous page....

According to Baṇa, Rājyaśrī escaped to the Vindhya region after the battle of Kanauj. The Forest Kingdoms of the Vindhyas must have been in close proximity to Kanauj to have enabled her to do so. That the southern extremity of this forest kingdom extended well up to Narmadā may be inferred from the word 'pallī' used for village in the Harṣacarita (Text p.232). 'Pallī' is the south Indian synonym of 'grāma' of North India. The Harṣacarita, therefore, confirms Monier-William's denotation of the "Vindhyātavī".

(1) this page....

H.C. Text p.232.

(2) H.C. Text p.60 'Sarvāmbodhivecāvanavalayavāsibhiśca....'

The Āṭavika Sāmantas had, among other obligations, that of acquiring new elephants for the King's ~~Harṣa~~ ^{in that context} had a very large elephant corps, and the Harṣacarita describes them ⁽¹⁾ as 'Pallī parivr̥dha', or Chiefs of the Śabara Settlements, ⁽¹⁾ in that context. ⁽¹⁾ Certain lesser officers of the forest settlements have been named Aranyapāla ⁽²⁾ and Vanapāla ⁽³⁾ in the Harṣacarita. Aranyapālas were not the same as Āṭavika Kings, or Sāmantas, as maintained by V. S. Agravāla. ⁽⁴⁾ They were most probably forest rangers employed by the chiefs, for in the Harṣacarita we read of "rows of Aranyapālas with tossing badges of twigs (who) strove, by upraising forests of tall goads, to announce the number of fresh captured elephants which they had secured." ⁽²⁾ These foresters waited with scores of other ordinary officials and servants of the elephant-stable. ⁽⁵⁾ Vanapālas, who may be ⁽⁶⁾ the same as Aranyapālas, guarded the forest-wood from trespassers. There was another class of officers too, Nāgavanavīthīpālas, who were probably employed directly under the King and may have kept in liaison with the Āṭavika Sāmantas. Their task was to convey tidings of the movements of fresh herds of elephants.

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- (1) H.C.Text p.58, Trans. p.46.
 (2) H.C.Text p.196 Trans. p.190
 (3) H.C.Text p.227 Trans.pp.225-6
 (4) p.128
 (5) H.C.Trans. p.190
 (6) H.C.Text p.277, Trans. 226

and to secure supplies of fodder for these animals. ⁽¹⁾

The 'Kulaputras' frequently mentioned in the Harṣacarita ⁽²⁾ were probably sons of friendly mahāsāmantas or subordinate kings who were, from their childhood, brought up with princes of the royal family ⁽³⁾ and grew old, in loyal and faithful service of their King.

The King, at the helm of affairs, controlled the machinery of government, with the help of a central ministry called in some sources 'Mantri-pariṣad'. Smṛtis and inscriptions refer to ministers as 'mantrins' or 'sachivas' ⁽⁴⁾ but do not specify either the strength of the ministry or the offices held by its members. The ministers may well have been the heads of departments also, and most if not all of them were expected to possess military skill. Prthivīśeṇa, at first a 'mantrin' of Kumāragupta, later assumed the office of Mahābalādhikṛta. ⁽⁵⁾ Bhaṇḍi led the army more than once, and in fact replaced Harṣa in command when the latter went out in search of his sister. His important military post, coupled with the fact that he was related to the

(1) H.C. Text p.196, Tran. p.190.

(2) H.C. Text pp.130, 155, 161, 165, 169, 173, 202, 225, etc.

(3) ~~Infra. p.~~

(4) The word 'Amātya' was not used in this context in our period. The meaning attached to 'Kumārāmātya' will be explained later.

(5) E.I.X 71 'Prthivīśeṇaḥ mantri..anantaraṇca Mahābalādhikṛta'. According to Fleet (C.I.I. III p.109) Mahābalādhikṛta was a great officer placed at the head of the forces - a technical official title.

royal family and had been in its service for many years, must have secured for him a prominent place on the Council of Ministers. Hsuan-tsang refers to him as 'the great minister Po-ni, whose power and reputation were high and of much weight' and who guided the 'ministers and officials' in the choice of Harṣa as their King.⁽¹⁾ The veteran Simhanāda⁽²⁾ by virtue of being his father's friend and commander of the forces, almost certainly occupied a place in Harṣa's 'Council of Ministers'.

The members of the Mantri-parisad thus often combined the two important posts of counsellors and military or judicial officers. Avanti, the 'Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta' (Minister of Peace and War)⁽³⁾ of Harṣa, may also have been a 'mahādaṇḍanāyaka' like Hariṣeṇa, the Minister of Samudragupta. Incidentally, Hariṣeṇa also bore the title of Kumārāmātya. Skandagupta, the Gajasādhanaādhikṛta, Commandant of the Elephant corps and superintendent of the royal elephants, may be the same as the 'Dūtaka, Mahāpramātāra, Mahāsāmanta, of the same name referred to in the Banskhera plate of Harṣa. In that case the two offices of Gajasādhanaādhikṛta and Mahāpramātāra were held by one person.

(1) Beal I. pp.210-11. Po-ni or Bāni. We omit 'chief' before ministers, and substitute 'officials' for 'magistrates' of Beal.

(2) H.C. Trans. p.180.

(3) C.I.I. III. p.16 footnote. It was a technical military title. As 'Danda' means both 'chastisement' and 'army or forces', the title is capable of being explained as either judicial or military. Literally it means the great leader of the forces.

In days when the King himself carried out a multitude of responsibilities a lack of strict demarcation of duties did not cause confusion, especially if it was practised in time of peace.

As gathered from the inscriptions it is likely that a great many of these terms were only technical titles of honour. Several instances may be found of two or more very important titles, which can be explained either as designations of duty or titles of honour, bestowed on the same person. Dhruvasena I of Valabhi⁽¹⁾ held as many as five titles, those of Mahāsāmāntā, Mahāpratīhāra, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahākārttakṛtika and Mahārāja, which makes it obvious that they were only technical titles of honour. More support in favour of such usage of these terms comes from the Balagāmve plate of Saṅkamadeva⁽²⁾ in which Daṇḍanāyaka is defined as 'Samasta-senāgresara', or leader of the whole army. It may therefore be borne in mind that the King's Ministers, though men of high station and holders of several grandiloquent titles, did not necessarily possess the offices denoted by their titles.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal suggests that both a smaller and a larger state council existed at the beginning of Harṣa's reign.⁽³⁾ He bases his view on Watters, who interprets Hsuan-tsang's account of Harṣa's accession thus:- 'the statesmen of Kanauj on the

(1) Ind. Ant. Vol. IV p. 105, line 13 ff.

(2) Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46 line 19

(3) H.C. I. P. Vol. III. p. 349.

advice of their leading man Bāni invited Harṣavardhana.....' (1)
 and 'The ministers of state pressed Harṣavardhana to succeed...'
 Beal, however, translates the relevant phrases as 'ministers'
 and 'chief ministers and magistrates'. There are no precise
 equivalents, in English, of the original Chinese characters
 僚庶 *liao shu* and 輔臣執事 *fu chên-chih-shih*, but they may be best
 translated as 'numerous officials' and 'ministers and officials',
 respectively. (2) There is nothing in the text which might
 suggest the existence of two 'state councils'. Moreover,
 Watters' interpretation, even if suggestive of two 'state
 councils', is confined to the system of government prevalent
 in Kanauj before that Kingdom was occupied by Harṣa. There
 is no reason to believe that Harṣa continued the practice - if
 it did exist - on succeeding to the throne of Kanauj.

A consideration of the powers and importance of the highest
 officials of the empire leads us to the incidental discussion
 of another class of officers, who, because of their title or
 designation, have sometimes received the unwarranted attention
 and differing comments of the historian. They are known as
 'Kumārāmātyas'. For example, this title forms a section-
 heading in 'The new history of the Indian people', (3) and thus
 the topic gets more attention from the reader than is due to it.

(1) Watters I p.343.

(2) ~~This interpretation is given by the kindness of Mr. D. C. Lau.~~

(3) p.281 ff.

The opinions expressed on the subject in the work referred to are, however, well-considered. Tripathi,⁽¹⁾ on the other hand, gives an insufficient explanation of the term. He limits himself to the definitions based on only the literal meaning of the words Kumāra and Amātya separately, and as a compound Kumārāmātya.

The word 'Amātya' is used to denote the general body of officials by the Arthaśāstra and the Jātākās. In the inscriptions of the Gupta period and of the age of Harṣa we find it used as a suffix to words like 'Kumāra' and 'Rājā', denoting officials of various grades and classes. 'Kumārāmātya' has been used as a title of honour for various high imperial offices.⁽²⁾ Sometimes it is used in respect of officers in charge of district administration,⁽³⁾ while in one instance we read of a Kumārāmātya specially designated as being attached to the emperor.⁽⁴⁾ The latter case makes it impossible that the term 'Kumārāmātya' should specifically denote officials in attendance on princes, as was once thought, since in that case no special designation would be necessary. The one instance known to us of a Kumārāmātya being in attendance on a prince is the same inscription, wherein the prince on whom the minister serves is the yuvarāja, or heir

(1) History of Kanauj. p.138.

(2) E.I. X.52. Harisena, The Minister of Peace and War of Samu-dragupta; Śikharasvāmī, the Minister of Chandragupta II and Prthvisena, the Minister of Kumāragupta, all held the title of Kumārāmātya.

(3) E.I. XV 133.

(4) Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. 1903-4 p.107 'Paramabhattarakapādīya Kumārāmātya'

to the throne,⁽¹⁾ who would be normally entrusted with important administrative functions. We have no evidence whatever that Kumārāmātyas were ever specially attached to junior princes. In the Maliya copper plate inscription of Dharasena II⁽²⁾ a number of administrative officers are listed in the following order: Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Drāṅgikas, Mahattaras, Chāṭa, Bhaṭa, Dhruvādhi-karaṇikas, Danḍapāśikas, Rājasthānīyas and Kumārāmātyas. The Deo-Barnark inscription of Jīvitagupta II⁽³⁾ also mentions certain officers: Ġōshthānakulas (herdsmen), Tālāvaṭakas, Dūtas, Sīmākarmakāras; Rājaputras, Rājāmātyas, Mahādanḍanāyakas, Mahāpratīhāras, Kumārāmātyas, ⁽⁵⁾Rajasthānīyas, Uparikas, Chauroddharanikas, Danḍikas and Danḍapāśikas. The purpose of quoting these two passages from the inscriptions is to show that though they bring to light the existence of no less than twenty designations or titles of honour - among them that of Kumārāmātyas, they take no care in maintaining a consistent order in recording these titles, and thus fail to give us a clue to their relative importance. From certain other inscriptions we learn of at least two capacities in which the Kumārāmātyas served the government, the first as the subordinates of the Mahādanḍanāyakas,⁽⁴⁾ and the second as officers in charge of divisions of 'Bhuktis' or

(1) Ibid: 'Yuvarājapādīya Kumārāmātya'

(2) C.I.I. III pp.170-1

(3) Ibid pp.217-18.

(4) A.S.I. 1911-12 p.32.

(5) See below pp. 324

provinces, which were governed by the Uparikas.⁽¹⁾ The fact that Prthviṣeṇa, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, was also a Kumārāmātya⁽²⁾ goes to prove that the latter title was of considerable honour and importance.

Amātyas are mentioned only once in the Harṣacarita⁽³⁾ though frequent reference is made to them in the inscriptions of the period.⁽³⁾

The Amātyas of the inscriptions do not seem to have been very high officials, since their title is usually coupled with that of Bhogikas, who were probably responsible for collecting 'Bhoga', or the state share of the land-produce paid in kind. Fleet⁽⁴⁾ considers 'Bhogika' to be a technical title, possibly connected with the territorial term 'Bhukti'. Judging from another inscription⁽⁴⁾ their rank was below that of Sāmantas, and above that of Viṣayapatis. The technical title, therefore, does not place them in a very high category of officials. The Khoh copper plate of Mahārāja Jayanātha⁽⁵⁾ testifies that the writer of that charter, a Sāndhivigrahika, was the grandson of an Amātya.

(1) E.I. XV 130, XVII 130, 347, XX 61, XXI 8.

(2) E.I. X 52.

(3) Text p.173.

(3a) CII III pp.100,120, 124,& 190. The Khoh plates of Mahārāja Hastin of the year 156 and those of Jayanātha of the year 177 also the Arang plates of Raja Mahājayarāja.

(4) C.I.I. III p.100.

(4a) Kāvīgrant of Jayabhata II, line 8, Ind.Ant.Vol.V p.114.

(5) C.I.I. III p.124.

Cowell and Thomas' translation of the phrase containing the word 'Amātya' - Mūrdhābhiṣiktāścāmātyā rājāno' - (1) as 'anointed counsellors of royal rank' (2) makes the Amātyas of the Harṣacarita appear of a much higher rank than they seem to possess in the inscriptions. The sentence in question should, however, be interpreted as 'anointed Kings holding the rank of Amātyas' at Harṣa's court and not as 'anointed Amātyas holding the rank of kings'. Moreover, the term 'Mantrin' and not 'Amātya' denoted 'counsellor' in our period. Amātya as used in the present context is no doubt a title, perhaps an abbreviation for Rājāmātya, or Kumārāmātya.

The permanent headquarters of all the state departments must have been established at the capital, and there was, probably, a general superintendent of the offices. South Indian inscriptions mention such an officer by the title of 'Sarvādhyakṣa', whose duty it was to convey the orders of the central government to the provincial and district officers. (3) We read of 'Adhyakṣas' in the Harṣacarita as officers in charge, according to their special functions. (4) The use of this term seems to be a survival from the days of the Arthaśāstra, when it implied any administrative civil servant.

(1) p.173.

(2) p. 162.

(3) Pallava, Vākāṭaka and Kadamba Inscriptions. I.A. V 155, VI 25; E.I.XXII 172, VII 162 Sarvādhykṣavallabhaśāsanāsan-
cārīṇaḥ.

(4) H.C. Text p.227 - Yathādhikāramādikṣādādhyakṣān - Trans.p.225
- "...The King appointed overseers to take charge of the
booty according to their several functions".

The office of the Rahasiniyukta (the private or the personal officer attached to the king) too, probably existed, since the services supposed to be rendered by him were very much in demand in Harṣa's time. The land-grants made by the King on tour were executed on the spot and were also recorded in the state register maintained in the central offices. It was the duty of the Rahasiniyukta to make a note of the King's orders, especially of those made orally. (1)

The Rahasiniyuktas accompanied the King at all times, whether at the capital, on tours of inspection, or on the march to a battle, noted any orders that he might give, and communicated them to the department concerned. Orders given by Harṣa at the beginning of his 'Digvijaya' march for the distribution of gifts among the Kings who were to accompany him to the battlefield and among nobles and pilgrims, as also for liberating the prisoners, must have been carried out and registered through officers whose function it was to note down and pass on such orders. This function was of even greater importance when the King was on the move, a situation in which Harṣa frequently found himself. We learn from the Harṣacarita, the Life and the three inscriptions of his reign, that Harṣa made land-grants in various parts of his kingdom. Even in the distant region of Orissa he offered a very liberal grant

(1) E.I. VI; p.38 and XIX p.103 - 'Svamukhajñayābhilikhitah
Rahasiniyukta na cullenā.'

to the Buddhist monk Jayasena. In such circumstances a confidential emissary of the type of the 'Rahasiniyukta' would be^a/necessary attendant on the King.

Pratīhāras and Mahāpratīhāras are another class of officials who figure prominently in the records of our time and in the inscriptions of the succeeding reigns.⁽¹⁾ The Pratīhāras and Mahāpratīhāras were responsible for regulating the court ceremonial and for granting permission to and ushering in those who wanted to see the King.⁽²⁾

The vivid descriptive style of the Harṣacarita enables us to picture the scheme of courts, halls, and rooms that made up the royal encampment, and then imagine where the Pratīhārās or doorkeepers of different classes were posted. We read of the town market which led to the Skandhāvāra⁽³⁾ or the large open space allotted for the tents of visiting kings, feudatories, couriers or ambassadors, 'Mleccha' kings, distinguished citizens, learned men and religious mendicants. There was no restriction on entering this part of the royal encampment, therefore it had no gatekeepers. There was yet more open space before the Rājakula or the King's palace, at the gates of which Pratīhāras were stationed to keep an eye on those who went in and out of the

(1) C.I.I. III 190 and H.C. Trans. p.218.

(2) or those whom the King expressed a desire to see. e.g. Text p.195.

(3) Text p.153.

palace. These doorkeepers were called Bāhya Pratīhāras, or the outer doorkeepers, because the Dhavalagrha, the third, innermost and safest section of the encampment or, in the case of the capital, of the royal quarters was still at a distance from the outer gates of the palace. Several 'kakṣyās' or courts intervened between the Dhavalagrha and the outer Rājakula. We read of seven such courts in the Kādambarī, and of five in the Rāmāyaṇa.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa's Rājakula contained only three. At the end of the third court lay the double storeyed Dhavalagrha, or the inner apartments, the gates of which were guarded more strictly by the 'Antara-Pratīhāras', or the inner doorkeepers.⁽²⁾ The superior officers, each perhaps in charge of a few pratīhāras, were known as Mahāpratīhāras, and it seems that in Harṣa's court there was yet another superior officer, the chief of all Mahāpratīhāras, known as Dauvārika, a term derived from 'dvāra', meaning door or gate. Pāriyātra held the distinguished post of Dauvārika in Harṣa's court, and Bāṇa's elaborate description of him contains several sentences which indicate the importance of his office.⁽³⁾ The term

(1) V.S. Agrawāla p.204. Bāṇa's Kadambarī. Tārāpīḍa's palace had seven Kakṣyās or courts; Rāmāyaṇa - Ayodhyākāṇḍa 5 - 5.

(2) Text. p.60.

(3) H.C. Trans. pp.48-49 - "...a tall man, fair like a Karnikāra flower, clothed in a spotless jacket, with his waist tightly bound by a girdle ornamented with a quantity of flashing rubies - with his chest broad....his shoulder rising over it.. and carrying on his breast a string of pearls...." "the sun-beams seemed to give place to him through respect for his office.... He greeted Bāṇa from afar with his long eye... set in the very centre of stern discipline....his top-knot

'Dauvārika', expressly stated by Bāṇa to have been used for the chief of the Mahāpratīhāras, does not figure in the inscriptions of any other King. The head doorkeeper Pāriyātra was possibly a hostage at Harṣa's court from the country of Pāriyātra, and the new term 'Dauvārika' was coined to give him distinction over others.

The office of the Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta, the minister of peace and war, was a legacy of the Gupta administration. Judging from the addition of the prefix 'mahā' to the Guptan Sāndhivigrahika, its importance seems to have increased in the time of Harṣa. The post was entrusted to an able and experienced man, who enjoyed his monarch's full confidence. From his title it appears that the Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta advised the King on matters of policy in inter-state relations - should the King conduct war - on what scale, should he seek an alliance - on what basis, should he extract tribute - of what nature. The Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta thus, was required to be well versed in both the theory and practice of ancient Indian polity. He was the King's counsellor, and was fully

Continuing fn.(3) from previous page....

bent down.....grasping in his left hand his sword....and in his right his burnished golden staff of office. Like a lightning flash suddenly became motionless." He was the chief of all the door-keepers, the King's favourite Pāriyātra.

informed on all military developments. The Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta was probably assisted by Sāndhivigrahikas of lower rank. In later times the kingdoms of the Deccan are known to have employed several Sāndhivigrahikas, each being in charge of a particular region of the empire. (1)

It will be well to note here some general facts about Harṣa's army before discussing the functions of its officers. Though Hsuan-tsang states that after the conquest of the five Indias in the first six years of his reign, Harṣa did not make use of his arms for about thirty years, we can say on the basis of other contemporary sources that Harṣa's military campaigns were spread throughout his reign.

The need for raising a strong armed force arose immediately on Harṣa's accession. The Chinese traveller tells us that the King assembled all the soldiers of his kingdom and practiced them in the arts of war. (2) Harṣa had a body of 5,000 elephant troops, 20,000 cavalry (3) and 50,000 infantry. He went from west to east (4) subduing all who had not submitted. The elephants were not^{un}saddled,

(1) N.H.I.P. Vol. VI p.280.

(2) This phrase is given by Beal (Vol.I p.213) as 'summoned the masters of arms', and is omitted by Watters.

(3) The figure of Harṣa's cavalry is given as 2,000 by Beal. It may be a printer's error. Watters does not give any figure for cavalry. It occurs as 20,000 in the text.

(4) Beal (loc.cit.) translates the phrase as 'East to West'. Watters paraphrases the text as: 'Proceeding eastwards, he invaded the states...and waged incessant warfare....' Beal's translation is wrong, and not consistent with what we know of Harṣa's campaign against Śaśaṅka.

nor the soldiers released of their coats-of-arms. After six years he had subjugated⁽¹⁾ the five Indias. Having thus enlarged his territory he increased his forces to 60,000 elephant troops⁽²⁾ and 100,000 cavalry.

These figures, though huge, are in keeping with the ancient Indian tradition of big armies.⁽³⁾ We should remember here that Harṣa's soldiers not only won battles for him. Their display at camps and in processions on important occasions kept the subordinate rulers over-awed and under check.⁽⁴⁾ The military, Hsüan-tsang tells us, was also used for 'guarding frontiers, ~~punishing the refractory~~^{serving in campaigns} and standing guard at the royal palace at night'.⁽⁵⁾

Hsüan-tsang, in the general account of the India of his travels, is giving to his reader only the theoretical information about the composition of the Indian army when he includes chariots in the various divisions of the forces. In fact

(1) A variant reading is 'repulsed or defended against the five Indias'. (V.4a)

We take the reading 'subjugated' to be correct. See Wallers I, p.393.

(2) ~~See above p.~~

(3) McCrindle pp. Mahāpadma Nanda had 80,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 8,000 chariots and 6,000 elephants. Candragupta Maurya, who inherited this army, raised the infantry to 600,000 and the elephant corps to 9,000. In addition he is said to have had 30,000 cavalry and a multitude of chariots.

(4) Bāṇa's description of a camp. H.C. Book II; Hsüan-tsang's account of the Kanauj assembly - Beal I p.218 ff and The Life p.173 ff.

(5) Beal I pp.82 & 87 / II 10 a

chariots were out of use even in the Gupta times. In Bāṇa's vivid account of Harṣa's war camp also, there is no allusion to chariots. Harṣa is said to have been riding an elephant when arraying his army.⁽¹⁾

A comparison between the figures concerning Harṣa's army immediately on accession and after a few years of his reign shows that the elephant corps was considered to be the most important division of the army, since it was made twelve times stronger. Cavalry occupied the next position, and the original number was multiplied by five. The infantry probably remained the same in size, as it is not mentioned a second time by Hsüan-tsang. As noted by V. S. Agrawāla⁽²⁾ also, Bāṇa in his account of Harṣa's camp refers in a simile to Harṣa's several 'ayutas' strong elephant corps.⁽³⁾ As one ayuta is equal to ten thousand and Bāṇa puts the adjective 'several' before it, Hsüan-tsang's statement may be very near the truth. Dr. Agrawāla in his informative note on Harṣa's elephants and horses⁽⁴⁾ says that the increase in the importance of the elephant division of the army in Harṣa's time was the natural repercussion from the Guptan bias in favour of a very strong cavalry. This latter statement, he bases on the several

fn. (4) from previous page....

Beal I p. 82 & 87.

ff. on this page....

(1) H. C. Tr. p. 203.

(2) p. 38.

(3) H.C. Text p. 76 Trans. p. 63.

(4) p. 37 ff.

references to horses in Kālidāsa's works. It is true that with the downfall of the Gupta empire and with the rise of the small kingdoms vying with one another for supreme authority, the search may have started for effective methods of attack to outdo the prevalent system of warfare. According to Agrawāla, the various Sāmantas and Mahāsāmantas probably built forts for their defence and for capturing them, elephants would definitely be more successful than horses.

For Harṣa, it seems to us, there was another more important reason for concentrating on strengthening his elephant corps. He seems to have entertained the ambition of defeating Pulakeśin for some time before he actually launched his attack. We learn from Hsüan-tsang's account of Mahāraṣṭra that Pulakeśin, relying on the strength of his warriors and elephants, treated his neighbouring countries with contempt. His martial heroes who led the van of the army got intoxicated before a fight, and also made their war-elephants drunk before the engagement.⁽¹⁾ Harṣa, knowing about the source of strength of his enemy, set out to equip his army especially in that respect, though ultimately his attempts did not fructify.

Both Hsüan-tsang and Bāṇa give us information on how elephants were equipped to present the enemy with a most formidable battle-line. 'The elephants are covered with

(1) Watters II p.239 and Beal II p.256.

strong armour and sharp spurs are attached to their tusks'.⁽¹⁾ Bāṇa's admiration for Harṣa's favourite elephant Darpaśāta, expressed in the words: 'He was a moving hill-fort with its high frontal-globes as so many towers' and 'an iron wall indented with thousands of arrows', seems to point to two ways in which the war-elephants were made use of in the battlefield. Nooses and nets were probably thrown on the enemy soldiers by warriors seated on the elephant.⁽²⁾ The rapid round and crooked movements⁽³⁾ taught to the elephants, when carried out by them in the battlefield must have caused chaos in the enemy camp.

Harṣa did not neglect his cavalry in his enthusiasm for the elephant-corps. Bāṇa⁽⁴⁾ tells us that horses were imported from Vanāya, Āraṭṭa, Kamboja, Bhāradvāja, Sindhudeśa and Pārasika.⁽⁵⁾ Horses of specially good breeds are enumerated by adjectives pertaining to their build and special marks on different parts of their bodies, whereas horses of at least six different colours are said to have been in the King's stables. Detailed description is given of a horse of good breed.

The Taṅgaṇa horses referred to in the Harṣacarita⁽⁶⁾

(1) Beal I p.82-3 and Watters I p.171 / II.76.

(2) H.C. Tr. p.55, Text p.68 'Hastāpāśākṛtiṣu' and 'vāgurāma-rāṭisaṃveṣṭaneṣu'.

(3) Ibid.

(4) H.C. Text p.62, Trans. p.50

(5) V.S. Agrawāla p.41 identifies these places with Vazīristān, Vahika or Panjāb, the Pāmīr Region of the river Oxus in Central Asia, Northern Garhwāl, Sindh Doab and Sassanian Iran.

(6) H.C. Trans. p.201.

were obtained from the region of Northern Garhwāl.⁽¹⁾ They are admired by Bāṇa for their smooth gait. Agrawāla identifies their riders - the Khakkhaṭas - with an ancient tribe of central Punjab.⁽²⁾

The ordinary horses were kept in the outer part of the camp, but the King's favourite horses, several times referred to as 'the King's loved ones', were accommodated in an inner part of the camp. ~~(3)~~

We later deal with the officers of both the elephant and horses' stables of Harṣa, to whom we find references in the Harṣacarita.

Tripathi ⁽⁴⁾ draws attention to the fact that Bāṇa refers to "troops of camels" also, but it is clear from a later description in the Harṣacarita that they were only used as beasts of burden along with oxen, asses, etc.⁽⁵⁾

From Bāṇa's reference to "the cow-elephants of the harem" (antaḥpurakarīṇī)⁽⁶⁾ accompanying Harṣa's army, it seems that, as at other times in ancient India, women accompanied their menfolk on campaign.

(1) Parsurāma K. Gode's article on Taṅgaṇa horses in the Harṣacarita in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress and Agrawāla p.146.

(2) Agrawāla p.146.

~~(3) p.131 fn. (1)~~

(4) p.131 fn. 1.

(5) H.C. Trans. p.206.

(6) H.C. Text p.206 Tr. p.201.

Hsüan-tsang gives us some information about the royal infantry in his general account of the country. 'They are light and brave. They carry a long spear and a large shield and some are armed with a sword and a sabre. All their weapons are sharp and pointed. Among them are: spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins and various kinds of slings.'

We are again indebted to the Chinese traveller for giving us information about the recruitment of soldiers. 'The bravest ~~among the common people~~ are selected to be warriors, and as the profession is hereditary they become adepts in the art of war...⁽²⁾ 'Just as many troops are enlisted as are necessary for the purpose. The payment is there to be had by whoever is willing to enlist.'⁽¹⁾

The former sentence of the second quotation indicates that Harṣa had a regular army of a certain size, but whenever the situation required it he enlisted more soldiers. The purpose of the second sentence is mainly to stress that there was no conscription.

We shall now deal with the several military designations referred to in the Harṣacarita. The origin of several of

(1) Beal I, p.87 translates it as, 'The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled'; Watters I (p.177) paraphrases it thus: '...the summonses are issued according to circumstances and after proclamation of the reward the enrolment is awaited'. Beal's trans. is not satisfactory and Watters' interpretation is definitely wrong.

(2) /II 7b

these terms can be traced back to Gupta times or even earlier. The Balādhikṛta⁽¹⁾ is depicted as 'giving orders' to the Pātipati.⁽²⁾ Several Balādhikṛtas were responsible to a Mahābalādhikṛta. Pātipati is an obscure compound. The commentary to the text does not offer a satisfactory explanation, though Cowell and Thomas, relying on it, translate the compound as 'superintendents of the barracks'.⁽³⁾

The ranks of Senāpati and Mahāsenāpati must also have existed in Harṣa's army, as they did in the armies of the preceding regimes, and, like several other designations, may also have been conferred upon people as titles of honour. The King being the leader of all the armed forces, there were several Mahāsenāpatīs⁽⁴⁾ in charge of a number of senāpatīs. The founder of the Valabhi dynasty, Bhaṭārka, used the title Senāpati, presumably, after his accession to power, as a title of honour.

(1) H.C. Trans. p.204. C.I.I.III p.109. According to Fleet this title was only a technical one. The present context, however, definitely suggests the allotment of special duties to the Balādhikṛta. V.S.Agrwāla, p.140, says that he was in charge of a vāhinī, or regiment, but gives no reason for making this assertion.

(2) H.C.Trans. p.199, Text p.204. 'Balādhikṛta badhyamānapātipati-petake'. Badhyamāna may also mean 'tying', whereas the common meaning of petaka is a box, and of pāṭi, arithmetic.

(3) Ibid. Commentary: Pāṭi bahuparivarapurūṣagrhitō nivāsa-bhūbhāgaḥ, Kulaputraka-samūha ityanye. Petakam tatsamūhaḥ 'pāṭhipati' iti pāṭhe pāṭhipatayah pratiniyatasvasthanā-parirakṣiṇaḥ. This suggests that the pāṭi or pāṭhi-patis were either persons commanding the bands of elite troops or deputed to guard forts or other establishments of the King and his nobles.

(4) N.H.I.P. Vol.VI, p.277.

The title of Mahādandānāyaka is another which probably existed in Harsa's reign. The word, though literally meaning 'administrator of punishment' ⁽¹⁾ - and it may well have been used in this sense for officers of justice - was applied to military officers as well, as is borne out by certain inscriptions. ⁽²⁾

The Dandadhara also formed a part of the army. The Harṣacarita ⁽³⁾ introduces them as 'heralding (the King's) appearance and clearing the way (for his elephant, seated on which, he was inspecting the forces), nimbly moving in deft performance of their duty, stern in enforcing order' holding high their golden staves. ⁽⁴⁾ The 'Vetrīs' or the 'Vetragrāhīs', ⁽⁵⁾ whom we find engaged in keeping away the crowds of villagers, mostly grantholders who had come to see the King while he was passing through their area on a military march - were probably the same as the Dandīs. We also read of the Vetrīs trying to scare away ⁽⁶⁾ the Brahmans who were shouting (complaints) from the tree tops trying to persuade the King to get their grievances redressed.

(1) As interpreted by Prinsep quoted in C.I.I. III p.16n.

(2) Ibid.

(3) H.C. Text p.208, Trans. p.204.

(4) We have substituted 'maces' of Thomas & Cowell by 'staves'.

(5) H.C. Text p.212. 'Vetra' is a thin light stick or cane.

(6) Ibid. p.213.

It seems that the Brahmans had come to report cases of complaint - probably against the Vetragrāhīs themselves - to the King and the Vetragrāhīs tried to stop them from getting to the King.

As we also find the 'Vetrīs' guarding the entrance to the inner apartments of the palace⁽¹⁾ it seems that the officials of this designation had a function to perform in both peace and war. Hsüan-tsang's statement that 'in peace they (warriors) guard the sovereign's residence, and in war they become the intrepid vanguard'⁽²⁾ lend strong support to our assumption.

Officers of the elephant corps and the cavalry were known as the Pīlūpatis, the Mahāpīlūpatis, the Aśvapātīs, the Mahāśvapātīs. The Pattīs⁽³⁾ and the Chāras and Bhaṭas⁽⁴⁾ being the footmen who led the King's favourite horses, and the gaily arrayed foot-soldiers, formed part of the royal infantry.

(1) H.C. Trans. p.138, Text p.155. 'Grhāvgrāhanīgrāhibahuvetrinī' Commentary: Gr...dehalīdvārārambhadeśah. Vetrino dvāsthā.

(2) Watters I p.171/II 76

(3) H.C. Text p.205 Trans. p.200.

(4) H.C. Text pp.203, 205 and 207. Chāṭa- bhaṭas have been interpreted variously by scholars.

(a) Bhagwanlal Indraji Ind. Ant. Vol. IX p.175 note 41 translates them as 'soldiers against robbers' or members of the police.

(b) Vogel - Antiquities of the Chambay state Part I pp.131-32 as 'Head of the Pargana responsible for the internal management of the district for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of criminals. Bhaṭas were their official subordinates.

(c) Altekar - N.H.I.P. VI p.277 'Ordinary members of the police force.

(d) Fleet C.I.I. p.98 footnote (2). irregular or regular troops - He also proves that Chāṭa is not governed by Bhaṭa.

(e) Dr. Bühler - same as Fleet. In fact the latter follows Bühler's interpretation.

The Sthānapālas⁽¹⁾ are explained as officials of the horses' stables by the commentator Śaṅkara. V. S. Agrawāla, without giving any reason, suggests that they might have been officers in charge of certain military or police posts appointed to deal with local law cases or maintain law and order.⁽²⁾ It seems that he is trying to trace the origin of the modern 'thānā' or local police station in the word 'Sthānā'. We believe, however, that the 'sthāna' as used in the compound Sthānapāla has survived in the modern 'thān', which denotes a cowshed.

The Vallabhapālas,⁽³⁾ who also formed part of Harṣa's army, are also explained in the commentary as keepers of the horses. The fact that in the same passage the King's favourite horses have been called 'vallabha' supports the meaning given in the commentary.

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It appears that this term was used differently in different times and places, but in the Harṣacarita it undoubtedly refers to regular members of the royal army, who apparently led the way in processions. It can hardly be doubted that the cārabhaṭas mentioned in the Harṣacarita are the same as the cāṭabhaṭas of the inscriptions, including those of Harṣa.

ff. on this page...

(1) H.C.Text p.205. Trans. p.200

(2) V.S.Agrawāla p.143.

(3) H.C. Text p.205, Trans. p.200.

The list of officials employed in the elephant stables is a long one and is indicative of the importance that was attached to this branch of the army in Harṣa's time. The Mahāmātras⁽¹⁾ held a very important place in the elephant stables. They were the chief Mahouts and trained the elephants for battle by displaying stuffed leathern figures of animals.⁽²⁾ The elephants used only for riding were trained to walk in different ways, and their trainers were known as 'Adhoranas'.⁽³⁾ The 'Karapatis'⁽⁴⁾ or the 'Leśikas'⁽⁵⁾ supplied the elephants with fodder. The old elephants were decorated and added to the gaiety of the processions. Their mahouts were known as 'Ārohakas'.⁽⁶⁾ The 'Niṣadins' looked after the elephants by giving them adequate exercise, etc. The elephant doctors were known as 'Ibha-Bhiṣagvara'.⁽⁷⁾

(1) H.C. Text p.196 Trans. p.190. The modern 'Mahāvat' is probably derived from 'Mahāmātra'. In the days of the Mauryas 'Mahāmātras' were important officials of high rank serving on executive, judicial and military posts. It is surprising that the term 'Mahāmātras' came to be associated with elephant keepers in Harṣa's time. We do not find the 'Mahāmātras' serving in any other capacity.

(2) Ibid.

(3) H.C. Text p.196

(4) Ibid. pp.52, 196 and 213.

(5) Ibid pp. 65 and 212

(6) Ibid. p.67

(7) Ibid. p.172.

Certain titles and designations found in the Harṣacarita and in Harṣa's inscriptions may have applied to officials performing the functions of police. 'Daṇḍanāyaka' used as a title for an officer of the judiciary may have been the designation of an officer of the police. The reason why we are led to believe that 'Daṇḍanāyaka' signified the function of such an official and is not a mere title is that another designation containing the word 'daṇḍa', 'Daṇḍapāśika', is also associated with the police. The 'Daussādhasādhanikas' of the Madhuban inscription⁽¹⁾ were also probably in the police department, and, judging from the meaning of their designation, the nature of their work seems to have been difficult. They may have been spies or officers responsible for the investigation of crimes of a more serious or dangerous type. Certain officials may have served both the military and the police departments.

Law and judicial procedure received ample attention from scholars in ancient India, and the well-developed system of Hindu jurisprudence had become quite established by the time of Harṣa. The King was the fountain-head of justice, and had the final duty of inflicting punishment. According to Kātyāyana's Smṛti, which is the law book written nearest to our period, the King is required to attend the courthouse

(1) Ep. Ind. I p.72.

personally,⁽¹⁾ though the judicial assembly of the third sort enumerated by Brhaspati⁽²⁾ - that furnished with the King's signet-ring - must also have existed. Judicial assemblies were held in towns and villages, and Brhaspati also mentions the 'movable' courts,⁽³⁾ which suggest the circuit courts of English law. The chief judge, or the 'Prādvivāka'⁽⁴⁾ was one of the most important officials of the Court of Justice. The board of the King's advisors included, the amātyas, the Brahmanas, the purohita, the sabhyas (assessors) and - an innovation first recorded in a law-book by Kātyāyana - a few merchants.⁽⁵⁾ The judges and jurors, the accountant and the scribe, the King's own officer, the law (Smṛti), and gold, water and fire were considered to be the essential features of the law-court. The duty of the Sabhyas was not only to decide justly but also to prevent the King from acting unjustly. According to Kātyāyana, the judicial bodies authorised to try law-suits were: family gatherings (Kula), guilds (srenī), assemblies (gaṇa), authorised persons and the King; in the ascending order of importance.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Kātyāyana 53-55.

(2) Verse 2.

(3) Verses 2 & 3.

(4) Prādvivāka or he who asks or examines (prcchati) and afterwards decides or speaks (the verdict) (vadati).

(5) Kātyāyana 56 - 59. The Mṛcchakatikā (Act.9) - a play of the Gupta period, also mentions it.

(6) Verse 82.

Like most other law-givers, Kātyāyana also accepts four modes of decision in the descending order of precedence: Dharma (moral law), Vyavahāra (judicial proof), Caritra (popular usage) and Rājaśāsana (the King's edict).⁽¹⁾ The decision by Vyavahāra was arrived at after the following procedure.⁽²⁾ The plaintiff, not necessarily the one who informed the court first, but the one who suffered greatest loss of wealth or bodily injury, was first allowed to put forward the plaint (pūrvapakṣa). The defendant then answered it (uttara).⁽³⁾ Thereafter both parties submitted evidence to support their stands.⁽⁴⁾ Interrogation and deliberation as to burden of proof by the judges followed this (pratyākālita),

(1) Kāne

The order and interpretation of these terms, however, differed from time to time. One definition is:

Dharma: Admission of claim or charge;

Vyavahāra: Judgment given according to the recognised principles of the Dharmaśāstra.

Caritra: Adoption of that course of conduct which has prevailed for a long time. It should not, however, be contrary to the word of the Vedas or the Smṛtis.

Rājaśāsana: That which was established by the King as Dharma but which should not be in conflict with the Smṛtis or usage.

(2) Kātyāyana, Verse 31.

(3) Kat. v. 158. Reply was of four kinds - admission, denial, a special plea and a plea of former judgment. A complete definition of Kātyāyana's rule is given in Aiyangar, Additional verses No.12.

(4) Evidence was of three kinds - documents, witnesses and possession, as well as reasoning and ordeals. Kātyāyana says that if the litigant fails by relying on weak ground he cannot raise the question again on other and stronger grounds. Verses 219-44. Vide res judicata in Modern law. (Kāne-Introduction XIV).

and finally judgment was delivered (kryāpāda). Kātyāyana differentiated between judgment after a complete trial and judgment before all the stages of the trial had been gone through. This implies that some cases were judged summarily, without the full legal procedure.

An interesting feature of the legal system of our period is that the institution of pleaders was just beginning to make its appearance, though they did not at this time enjoy an established status. Asahāya's commentary on the Nārada Smṛti,⁽¹⁾ which is a little later than our period,⁽²⁾ quotes a case where the judge rebuked a Brahman for advocating the cause of a third party in return for a fee. It may be that he was especially reprimanded because he was a brahman, who, according to the strictest ethics of his class, should not accept fees for such services. Smṛtis thus give us a fairly reliable picture of the court procedure of our times. ¹¹⁴ From Hsuan-tsang's statement that the King of Jālandhara was appointed 'sole inspector of religion throughout the five Indies', we may assume that religious activities of the state formed a distinct department. This must have been a large one, for we learn from the Chinese traveller's account that ~~two~~ ^{one}-third of the King's whole day was regularly spent on works of religious merit.⁽³⁾ As services conducive to public welfare, such as the building of rest-houses

(1) IV 5.

(2) Kāne

(3) ^{/V. 5a} Beal I pp. 214-215 gives $\frac{1}{3}$ (by implication)

and the provision of medical care for the populace, were also considered as gaining religious merit, the range of work of this department must have been very wide indeed. Unfortunately neither the inscriptions nor the works of Bāna or Hsuan-tsang record the designations of the officials of this section of administration. The Chinese pilgrim's narrative, however, gives certain details of Harṣa's activities in this sphere from which it may be surmised that numerous officers must have been employed by the King to regulate the manifold activities in this sphere. (1)

The King's daily devotions must have ended customarily in bestowing charity and rewarding mendicants and Brahmans. Religious functions, with music and dancing, were also probably ^{held} in connection with the regular Hindu festivals. (2) These the Buddhist pilgrim would not record. He informs us that long discussions between learned men were arranged, and their merits and demerits were judged by the King himself. Moreover, every year, mendicants from all over the country were assembled, and alms of food, drink, medicine and clothing were distributed among them. In the King's travelling palace, choice food was provided for men of all religions. The learned priests and religious ministers or neighbouring princes were rewarded. The morals of the people were watched and it seems that

(1) Beal I p.176.

(2) eg: Harṣa's plays 'Priyadarśikā' and 'Ratnāvalī' refer respectively to the grand autumnal celebration of the Full Moon or the Kaumudī-Mahotsava and the Madanotsava.

special officers - whose prototype may have been the Mauryan Dharma-Mahāmātras⁽¹⁾ - kept the King informed in this direction. The erection of numerous stupas, the building of hospices and the provision of food, drink, medicine and free medical care at certain places, must have involved a great deal of expenditure and organisation. The quinquennial assemblies were, perhaps, one of the most spectacular features of Harṣa's reign, and, judging from their description, they must have entailed long and careful preparation, second only to that needed for a military campaign. In fact, even when on the march, the King usually made religious grants of villages or portions of villages. These villages were known as agrahāras, and their donees were exempt from royal taxes and from the interference of any state officers. Both the Madhuban⁽²⁾ and Banskhera⁽³⁾ inscriptions of Harṣa record such land grants.

The Madhuban inscription⁽³⁾ mentions a new administrative office - that of the 'Mahāpramāṭāra' which is not to be found in the Gupta records. This designation, which was also, perhaps, a title, seems to have been created at sometime in the sixth or seventh centuries A.D., because it is found elsewhere only in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi⁽⁴⁾ and in a Baijnath 'Prasasti' dated C.A.D. 800.⁽⁵⁾ According to Tripathi⁽⁶⁾ the

(1) The Gupta officers carrying similar functions were known as the Vinayasthitigthāpakas CII III p.50

(2) Ep. Ind. I p.72

(3) Ep. Ind. IV p.211

(3a) Ep. Ind. Vol. I p.

(5) Ep. Ind. I p.102

(6) p.110

(4) Ind. Ant. VII p.76 - Grant of Khargraha II of Valabhi.

Pramātr or the Pramātāra was probably entrusted with justice. Ghoshal⁽¹⁾ connects the office with the department of land-survey, whereas, Bühler⁽²⁾ takes it to mean a 'spiritual counsellor' on the basis of etymology.⁽³⁾

It seems to us that the Pramātr's, or the Pramātāra's, duty was to interpret the Dharmaśāstras for the King in court,⁽⁴⁾ or to perform the same function as an officer in a law court. An official well-versed in ancient law and dharma would be the right person for the execution of a religious grant, such as the Madhuban Grant, which had been recovered from a tenant who held the land by virtue of a forged document. The Mahāsāmanta Mahāpramātāra Skandagupta was the dūtāka (the officer charged with the conveyance of a grant) for Harṣa's Madhuban grant.

The officer charged with the execution of the Banskhera Grant - the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Bhānu - also seems to have been the holder of an important position. His designation or title of honour was Mahākṣapaṭalādhikaranādhikṛta. The office of Akṣapaṭala, or the keeper of the accounts, is known to us from the time of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. It is possible that the Head Keeper of the records was also the officer in-charge of the states' revenue department. Several Akṣapaṭalīkas

(1) H.C. I. P. Vol.III p.348

(2) E.I. I. p.118

(3) Monier Williams describes the Pramātr as 'one who has a correct notion or idea'. Macdonnell substitutes 'judgment' for 'idea'. Other meanings given by both are - authority and 'performer of the mental operation resulting in a true conception'. Apte, adds 'proof' also to the list of meanings.

(4) In the Baijnāth Praśasti is said to have been a Pramātr to the King of Kashmir.

in the provinces and districts, and Grāmākṣapaṭalīkas in the villages, kept the local records and acted as so many liaison officers for the centre. Hsuan-tsang⁽¹⁾ informs us that: 'As to the archives and records, there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state papers are called collectively ni-lo-pi-t'u (or ch'a)⁽²⁾ in these good and bad are ~~are~~ recorded, and instances of ^{natural} public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail'.

Agriculture being the base of the country's economy, most of these official files would, no doubt, have been used for recording the details of land survey, the vagaries of weather, and how it affected the crops, the various purposes for which land was used, and so forth.

The importance of land in the economy of the state in those days cannot be minimised. The King's power was great if he had a large number of subordinate 'sāmantas' and 'Mahāsāmantas' or land-holders, to help him in war or increase his prestige by their presence at court in peacetime. Religious merit was earned by making land-grants to Brahmans or religious sects. Land was a mode of payment to state officials, and,

(1) Watters I p.154; Beal I p.78 / II. 56

(2) Watters I p.154. "The Ni-lo-pi-tu of this passage had been rightly restored by Julien as Nilapita; and the Chinese annotator tells us the word means "Dark-blue-store". We find the word in our Sanskrit dictionaries, but the P.W. gives only one illustration of its use, and that is the passage before us." The word may also be restored as Nirupita "that which is fixed or determined", or Nilapeta instead of Nilapita, for, peta also, like pita, means box or basket.

above all, land yielded the crops which fed the nation, and filled the state granaries and treasury. Land, thus, was the corner-stone of the States' economy.

The Chinese traveller gives us very interesting information on the division of land in Harṣa's time.⁽¹⁾ The relevant passage is very important, and our interpretation of it differs somewhat from those of Beal and Watters. We give a translation below:⁽²⁾

"The cultivated land of the King falls into four main divisions: one is for expenses of the state and sacrifices, one for giving gifts to ministers, who help the King in government, one for rewarding talent and learning, and one for making gifts to men of various religious sects so as to set up a store of merit.⁽³⁾

Therefore land revenue is light; so are corvee and taxes. The people are content with their hereditary mode of livelihood. They all cultivate land which is allotted per head. One-sixth is paid in tax, for cultivating the King's land..... The construction works of the State do not depend on unpaid labour. Payment is made in proportion to the work done..... The governors, ministers and other officials have each their own portion of land for their maintenance." Earlier in this paragraph Hsuan-tsang tells us: "As the administration is tolerant, government business is light. Families are not entered on registers and people are not subject to forced labour."

(1) The Records, Bk. II.

(2) ~~Through the kindness of Mr. D. C. Lau.~~

(3) This is a special expression, literally meaning - by giving land for cultivation, on religious purpose, the field of merit (Punyaḥsetra) is cultivated.

It may be noted that at first the Chinese writer specifically mentions the absence of forced labour, but later, in the context of land revenue, he writes that land-revenue, corvee and taxes all are light. The reason for this apparent contradiction may be found in the author's national background, because in China corvee was exacted from both the tillers of the land and city dwellers, in addition to taxes. Because, for Hsuan-tsang, the two usually went together, he puts them down in the same sentence. His special notice of the absence of forced labour may also be due to the same reason.

The bestowal of fiefs on ministers points to the existence of a regular 'jāgīr' system according to which land-rights over specified areas were given in lieu of salary to the more important and permanent officials. The lesser officials of government were probably paid in cash, since land grants on a small scale might have been very cumbersome to administer. As the titles of Rājā, Mahārāja or Mahāsāmanta usually appear before the names of high dignitaries in the inscriptions, a part of their income from the land must have gone back to the state treasury in one form or another. As Hsuan-tsang specifically states that the cultivators of

royal land paid one sixth of the produce as revenue, it is possible that the tenants of the 'Jāgīrdārs' may have paid at another rate. Land-revenue was the most important of the traditional eighteen taxes,⁽¹⁾ and was called 'Bhāgakara' or 'Udraṅga'. Harṣa's inscriptions recognise both the forms.

Apart from land-revenue and tributes from the feudatories there were other sources of the states' income. Of the eighteen traditional taxes in the sphere of Justice, most must have been levied.⁽²⁾ Some records of the Gupta period⁽³⁾ mention the taxes levied on pasturage, hides, charcoal, mines, purchase of fermenting drugs, hidden treasures, deposits, abundance of milk and flowers, and succession of cattle. In view of Hsuan-tsang's statement about light taxation it

(1) Ep. Ind. I, 6; XV, 25. - also, Beni Prasad p.302.

(2) Beniprasad p.303 gives the list of ten offences for which fine was payable. There were considered three offences of the body: theft, murder, and adultery; four of speech: harsh, untruthful, libellous and pointless words; and three of mind: coveting other's property, thinking of wrong and devotion to what is not true.

The term 'Daśāparādhah' is, however, only a generic name for sins, and in its administrative sense only means judicial fines in general. Wrong thinking could hardly be punished, whereas murder must have carried a higher penalty. C.I.I. III p.213. Jīvitagupta II's record mentions fines for ten offences.

(3) Ep. Ind. XV No.4. The Poona plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā.

6. it would appear that the list of taxes in our period probably did not contain all the above-mentioned sources of income. The Chinese traveller, however, informs us that 'merchants.....paid light duties at ferries and barrier stations', (1) The collectors of Octroi duties were probably called 'Drāṅgikas'. (2)

Further designations of the administrative officials come to light through the Harṣacarita and contemporary inscriptions, but as they seem to be connected with the district and village administration, we shall first consider the territorial divisions of the empire, and how they were governed by local administrative bodies.

Hsüan-tsang informs us that the term India denoted the 'Five Indies' (3) and the entire land (both north and south India) was divided into ^{over} ~~approximately~~ seventy countries. (4) Big provinces

(1) Watters I. p.176; Beal I p.87 / II.10a

(2) N.H.I.P. VI p.279 and for Valabhi grants in which the Drāṅgikas are mentioned see C.I.I. III p.165 and Ep. Ind. XII p.339.

(3) See ~~above~~ pp 164-5

(4) Beal I p.70. / II p.1b

like Surāṣṭra and Mālavā were perhaps the largest territorial divisions of the Gupta Empire, and were known as Deśas.⁽¹⁾

There is a possibility that the term 'Five Indies' conveys the five largest territorial divisions of Harṣa's empire.

Of the seventy countries mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, about two-thirds were contained in Harṣa's empire.⁽²⁾ These were mostly Bhuktis, or districts, the next largest territorial unit after Deśa, according to the terminology of his inscriptions. Some, however, such as Kāmarūpa or Valabhi, were much larger regions, ruled by Harṣa's subordinate allies. Those 'countries' of Hsüan-tsang's list which were admittedly outside Harṣa's domain may have varied in size between Bhuktis and Kingdoms.

The Bhuktis were probably approximately the size of the modern commissioner's divisions.⁽³⁾ Harṣa's Banskhera and Madhuban grants were respectively executed in the Ahicchatrā and Śrāvastī bhuktis. The next territorial division was the 'viṣaya', or district, and the smallest administrative unit of the empire was the traditional 'grāma'.

(1) It must be remembered, however, that the term Deśa was indiscriminately applied to big provinces and small districts. King Yaśodharman's (C.I.I. III p.152) inscription mentions a certain Abhayadatta, who, as Rājasthānīya (viceroy), was assisted in the administration of his many Deśas (districts) by his own sacivas (ministers). It is, of course, very possible that the lapse of time may have changed the connotation of the term first in the Gupta and then in the Vardhana period. An example of the use of the word Deśa in the Gupta period is to be found in 'Sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhaya goptṛna' (C.I.I. III p.66). These Deśas seem to be bigger than Abhayadatta's Deśas. Hsüan-tsang's Five Indies, or five Deśas, were quite large in size. For Fleet's view on the topic see C.I.I. III p.32n.

(2) Vide Ch. III (3) Basham. p.102 and N.H.I.P. VI, p.283.

It seems that there was much in common between the administrative systems of the Guptas and Harṣa, because the nomenclature of officers and the general terminology used in the inscriptions of both periods is largely the same. We can therefore make use of the details obtained from the Gupta records for filling the gaps in our seventh century sources.

The Deśas, or provinces, were governed by viceroys appointed by the King. Their rights and responsibilities were considerable, and they must have been the King's trusted representatives. Their designation may have been Rājasthānīya, meaning the King's representative, and they probably enjoyed the title of Kumārāmātya, ⁽¹⁾ ~~and~~ ^{The Rājasthānīya is placed before Kumārāmātya} Uparika, and after Mahāpramātāra in Harṣa's grants. It should, however, be remembered that there was no strict demarcation in the use of designations, and titles, and if an Uparika considered himself powerful enough, he styled himself Uparika Mahārāja, as in some West Bengal Grants (A.D. 5-6th Century), ⁽²⁾ or a strong and worthy governor of a Bhukti was given the designation of Rājasthānīya by the King. If they were princes of royal blood the Rājasthānīyas styled 'Mahārājaputra Devabhāṭṭāraka.' ⁽³⁾ Mādhavagupta probably

(1) See ^{above} *Infra* p. 67; Ksemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* Prak. IV (beginning) describes a Rājasthānīya as - 'He who carries out the object of protecting

(2) Fleet No. 14. ^{subjects and shelters them.}

(3) Ep. Ind. XV, p. 130.

(1a)
governed Magadha in the capacity of the King's viceroy. As these officers were responsible for maintaining order internally and for protecting their territory from outside danger, they had some army units of their own. (1) Their most important task was to watch over the feudatory chiefs situated within their boundaries. The construction and maintenance of works of public utility was also within their sphere. They could appoint many of their subordinate officers, and probably all the departments of the centre had their replicas in the provinces. (2)

The Junāgaḥ rock inscription of Skandagupta, (3) despite its formal panegyric, succeeds in giving us a fairly clear picture of the provincial administration of the Guptas. Cakrapālita, the son of Parnadatta, who had been appointed, after very careful consideration on the part of the King, as the governor of all Surāstra, carried out his multifarious duties in a most commendable manner.

"He caused distress to no man in the city, but he chastised the wicked.

Even in this mean age he did not fail the trust of the people '(did not fail to maintain confidence in the people)' (4)

(1a) Magadha may have been the capital of a Deśa.
 (1) Beal I. p.218 - 'Then the Kings of (over) twenty countries who had received instruction from Śilāditya-rāja assembled with the Śramanas and Brahmins...., officers and soldiers.
 (2) N.H.I.P. VI, p.283
 (3) Fleet, No.14, C.I.I. III p.62
 (4) Fleet C.I.I. p

He cherished the citizens as his own children and he put down crime.

He delighted the inhabitants with gifts and honour, and smiling conversation, and he increased their love with informal visits and friendly receptions." (1)

The Bhuktis were governed by Uparikas, who again were appointed by and responsible to the Emperor himself. They figure in both the grants of Harṣa. The governors of Bhuktis have also been designated - Bhogika, Bhogapati, Goptā, Uparika-Mahārāja and also Rājasthānīya. (2) Some of these terms point towards the fiscal duties of the governor of a Bhukti. The heads of the districts, or Viṣayas, were known as Viṣayapatis, and under the Guptas were appointed not by the centre but by the provincial governors. This system would not only have lightened the work of the centre, but would also have given initiative to the provincial governors. Power and responsibility of this kind bestowed by a strong King would not only bring out the best in an able person, but also keep him satisfied and check his tendencies to revolt or attempt at assuming independent status. The practice must have continued in Harṣa's reign, though, as his empire was smaller than that of the Guptas, Harṣa might sometimes have been tempted to make such appointments himself. Often the

(1) We quote here Dr. Basham's (p.104) translation of the verses of the Junagadh Ins.

(2) Fleet No.14; Ep. Ind. XV No.7. Damodarpur Copper Plates.

Viṣayapatis had the status of Mahārājas, Kumārāmātyas or Ayuktakas. ⁽¹⁾ This fact is significant, since the bestowal of titles of honour on the Viṣayapatis would tend to strengthen their loyalty to the King, as against their loyalty to their 'immediate' superior, the governor of the bhukti.

The Viṣayapati had his office, called 'adhikaraṇa', ⁽²⁾ in the chief town of the district, which was called 'adhiṣṭhāna'. Probably in this office were maintained the careful and elaborate records which are mentioned by Hsuan-tsang in his account. The officer-in-charge of the records, was called 'pustapāla'. The precise dimensions of land, both cultivated and uncultivated, were recorded in the files. An account must also have been kept of those waste lands situated within the district which belonged to the state, because we learn ⁽³⁾ that the district authorities had to be consulted in the sale transactions of such lands. 'Akṣapaṭalīkas' were another class of officers in the Viṣaya who, on the basis of contemporary references, seem to have been responsible for the legal aspect of land transactions. The spurious Gaya plate of Samudragupta ⁽⁴⁾ mentions that the deed was drawn up by the order of an 'akṣapaṭalādhikṛta'. The term 'Akṣapaṭala' implies a depository of legal documents. ⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ep. Ind. XV p.138. Copper Plate Grant of Budhagupta.

(2) See Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India* p. 297 (*Damodarpur Copper Plates* E.I. XX + XXVII.)

(3) *Ibid* p. 300

(4) Fleet C.I.I. III p.257

(5) Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary S.V.

(1)
'Akṣadarsaka' is said to be a synonym of Pradvivāka in the
the Amarakoṣa. (2)

That the district administration had a representative character is demonstrated by the Damodarpur Copper plate inscriptions of the Gupta period. We learn that the District officers worked in co-operation with the Adhiṣṭhanādhikaraṇa (Municipal Board) or with the Viṣayādhikaraṇa (District Office) or with the Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa (composed of 8 village elders or Mahattaras). The Municipal Board, or the popular district council, consisted of about 20 members, called the Viṣayamahattaras. The most important among them were the Chief Banker (Nagaraśreṣṭhin), the chief trader (Sārthavāha), the chief artisan (Prathamakulika) and the chief scribe (Prathamakāyastha). These members seem to have been the heads of their guilds, because the word 'prathama', or 'the first', is affixed to their designations. From the occupations of the important members of the council it may be surmised that urban interests got precedence over rural. No doubt the remaining members of the council represented the other aspects of district life, and may have been quite unconnected with any guilds.

The districts had their own law courts. The seals of the office of 'Nyāyādhikaraṇa', 'dharmādhikaraṇa' and 'dharmaśasanādhikaraṇa' found at Nālandā and Vaiśālī (4)

(1) ~~Infra~~ p. See above p.312.

(2) Amara. 2-8-5.

(3) Faridpur Plate III

(4) Memoirs. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 66 pp. 52-3; Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann Rep. 1913-14, p. 128 and Ep. Ind. XI p. 107.

may have been issued from the courts of justice which existed at these places. There were certain other kinds of courts, as well. The guild system being so developed, the traders had their own courts where disputes among members were settled. Brhaspati⁽¹⁾ advises the King to let certain classes of people be tried according to the rules of their own professions. Among these are mentioned cultivators, artisans, money-lenders, dancers, and followers of certain religious sects. Courts were conducted in forests, for the semi-nomadic foresters, in camps for warriors, in caravans for merchants. Brhaspati says⁽²⁾ "(Meetings of) kindred, companies (of artisans), assemblies (of co-habitants) and chief judges are declared to be resorts for the passing of a sentence....." The importance of the authority of these courts was in the ascending order. The right of appeal to higher courts existed: 'Judges are superior in authority to meetings of the kindred and the others; the chief judge is placed above them, and the King is superior to all'.⁽³⁾

The smallest unit of administration was the village or the 'grāma'. As today, villages varied widely in size. Both a cluster of a dozen households and a dozen of such clusters may be called a grāma. The jurisdiction of the village authorities

(1) S.B.E. Vol.33 p.281

(2) Br. I, 29

(3) Br. I, 31

extended over houses, streets, bazaars, cremation grounds, temples, wells, tanks, waste lands, forests and cultivable lands.⁽¹⁾ The land was measured by 'Sīmākaras', who figure in several grants of the period.⁽²⁾ The village boundaries were demarcated by walls and ditches,⁽³⁾ which also offered protection against raids by robbers. Agriculture was the main occupation. Cattle rearing, weaving, pottery, carpentry, working in metals, and such other occupations as were supplied by the natural resources of the village provided the villagers with other means of livelihood.

The village headman, known as the 'Grāmeyaka' or 'Grāmādhyaṣa' was in charge of village administration. We do not know how he was appointed.⁽⁴⁾ Beni Prasad's view that 'probably heredity, informal village opinion and government approval were jointly responsible for his selection', seems to be correct. The headman was assisted in his work by various officials, of whom the 'Grāmākṣapaṭalika' and 'Karaṇi' are mentioned in the Harṣacarita.⁽⁵⁾ At the first halting place in the course of his march, Harṣa was approached by a 'Grāmākṣapaṭalika', accompanied by his staff of Karaṇis, for sealing a land grant with his own hand. A specimen of such a seal with the mark of a bull is fortunately available to us in the Sonipat seal of Harṣa.⁽⁶⁾

(1) N.H.I.P. VI p.288 - All these are mentioned in various inscriptions of the period.

(2) Valabhi grant, C.I.I. III p.

(3) E.I. XIX p.130

(4) p.297

(5) H.C. Text p.203.

(6) C.I.I. III, No.52, p.232.

The Grāmākṣapaṭalika carried out in the village the same duties as the Akṣapaṭalika did in the Viṣaya. Karanis were the clerks or writers who assisted the Grāmākṣapaṭalika in his work.

The Harṣacarita also mentions the Grāma-Mahattaras, or the village elders, who formed an unofficial council to help the headman in duties of administration. This council seems to have been known as Pancamaṇḍalī or Grāmajanapada in the Gupta period.⁽¹⁾ A large number of the seals of the village janapadas have been found at Nālandā, belonging to the later Gupta period.⁽²⁾

These seals were used for stamping official documents. The Grāma-Mahattaras, who seem to have attained this position by virtue of their wealth, age, or ability, probably filled the posts in the Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa mentioned in the Damodarpur plates.

The villages had their own local courts of justice, the pancāyats, in which the village elders tried all the civil and petty criminal cases. The right of appeal to higher courts was permitted.

If Bāṇa's versatile pen had chosen to write about an ordinary village instead of a forest settlement we would have possessed a very realistic picture of life in this basic unit of administration.

The Śabara village of his description⁽³⁾ was situated in the Vindhya region, and was visited by Harṣa at the very beginning

(1) N.H.I.P. VI p.289 (2) M.A.S.I. No.66 pp.454-49

(3) H.C.Tr. p.225 ff.

of his career, when he was roaming in search of his sister. The small settlement with its wealth of wild growth and cultivated trees provided work for the village settlers, as well as for those who dwelt on the outskirts. Timber was regularly collected from the forest and sold in towns. Flax, hemp, wax, fruit, honey, *lāmajjaka* (a kind of grass), peacock's tail feathers, and several other products of the woods were gathered by the villagers. A variety of fruit and flower-bearing trees, such as the *aśoka*, *keśara*, mango, betel-nut, as well as the timber-yielding *deodar*, and many other trees were cultivated or grew wild. At least two varieties of rice - the *śaṣṭika*⁽¹⁾ and the *nala*, were grown. Cotton was obtained from the fruit of the 'seemul' tree⁽²⁾ and sugar-cane plantations were carefully guarded.

Oxen were employed for tilling and sowing. They were apparently used for carrying timber as well, as is shown by this statement of the text: "Strong oxen (yoked or in couples) marched before them (as the woodcutters entered the forest)." Manure was used for enriching the earth.

Hunting, of course, was also one of the occupations of the forest dwellers. Intricate traps and nooses were used for catching birds and beasts. Among artisans, at least the

(1) A kind of rice that ripened in 60 days. C. & T. p. 225 fn. 1

(2) also used today.

blacksmith, is mentioned. Thieves and wild beasts were the two disturbers of peace. Scaffolds, fences and sharp-pointed stakes were constructed to keep away the animals. To escape loss at the hand of the thieves hidden in the forest, the woodcutters avoided wearing decent clothing, and went to work in ragged clothes.

The provision of certain amenities for travellers and pilgrims seems to have been a common practice in those days, because Hsuan-tsang's statement on this subject is supported by Bāṇa's account of this remote settlement. In every direction at the entrance to the forests were drinking arbours, made of wayside trees. Freshly dug tanks⁽¹⁾ supplied water both to the villagers and the travellers. Big trees shaded the resting places. An array of water-jars placed on wooden stands were for quenching their thirst, while rose apples satisfied their appetite.

The householders of this small settlement seem to have been a hardworking, self-sufficient and prosperous community. We are told that their houses, which were situated at wide intervals, had orchards and garden enclosures full of fruit trees, useful plants and beautiful flowers. In the open space by the houses lay piles of charcoal, heaps of cotton, stores of threshed rice,

(1) H.C. Text p.228

waterlily roots, candied sugar, white lotus seed, bamboos, beans, gourd seeds, and collections of living pets.

Small farmers themselves apportioned cultivated land among themselves, and did so in no peaceful manner, for Bāṇa describes them as fiercely arguing over its allocation. It is rather surprising that the help of a village elder was not sought in doing this.

Bāṇa does not mention the designation of any village official while writing about this settlement. He only refers to the petty kings (Āṭavika-sāmantas) of the forest settlements, to the village chiefs (sarvapallī patināṁ) and to the commander of the village tribe of the Śabarās (Śabarasenāpati).

CHAPTER VI

The Sino-Indian Mission and the Death of Harṣa (1)

The Chinese records are our only source of information for India's diplomatic relations with China during Harṣa's reign, and for the period immediately following his death.

We have been able to obtain several accounts, some more detailed than others, of the various commercial and diplomatic missions exchanged between Harṣa and T'ai Tsung. Their English translations will presently be supplied. The sources from which the accounts have been taken are as follows :-

- (1) Ku chin fo-tao-Lun-hêng (A.D.661)
- (2) Fa-yüan-chu-liu (A.D.668)
- (3) T'ung Tien (A.D.801)
- (4) The Old T'ang History (A.D.945)
- (5) T'ang Hui Yao (A.D.961)
- (6) T'ai Ping Yü Lan (late 10th Century)
- (7) T'ai Ping Huan-yü Chi (late 10th Century)
- (8) Ts'e Fu Yüan Kuei (A.D.1005-1013)

(1) We are deeply indebted to Mr. D. C. Lau for providing us with fresh translations of the passages already rendered into English or French, mostly in the latter half of the last century, and for translating material from sources hitherto not used by historians for a reconstruction of the period under discussion.

- (9) The New T'ang History (A.D.1060)
 (10) Tzū Chih T'ung Chien (A.D.1085)
 (11) Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao by Ma Tuan-lin
 (presented to the throne in A.D.1318)

As stated, the latest authority in point of time is Ma Tuan-lin. He has reproduced, word for word, the account given in the earlier New T'ang history, which in its turn apparently drew its information from a source used by yet another earlier history, the T'ang Hui Yao. Ma Tuan-lin has been wrongly exalted by historians as the only ray of light on the dark period of Indian history following Harṣa's death.⁽¹⁾

This has no doubt been due to the fact that only Ma Tuan-lin's account has so far been translated into English.⁽²⁾ The accounts of India given in the Old and the New T'ang histories, and passages from the Fa-yüan-chu-lin, were rendered into French by Sylvain Lévi,⁽³⁾ though there, too, certain useful passages were unfortunately omitted. However,

(1) Tripathi (p.128 fn.2, 188, 190 f.n.1.) mentions only the name of Ma T'uan-lin as the authority for this period and writes (p.188) ".....it is fortunate that the Chinese writer Ma T'uan-lin affords us some ray of light on this tale of confusion". Majumdar (H.C.I.P. III p.120) likewise seems unaware of the other Chinese sources on this period and quotes only Ma T'uan-lin for an account of the first Chinese mission sent to India.

(2) Anonymous translation in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australia. New Series Vol.20, May-August 1836 pp.213-222, 313-316; reproduced in the J.A.S.B. Vol.VI Part I (1837) pp.61-75; Burgess's translation of Ma Tuan-lin from the French of Julien (Jour. Asiatique IVme Sér. tome X (1847) pp.81-121) in I.A. Vol. IX, 1880. M. Remusat also rendered Ma T'uan-lin's account (Bk.335, fol.14) into French (Nou. Mel. Asiat. ti.i p.193)

See next page for fn. (3).....

Lévi's article is by far the most useful among the very few dissertations on the topic. It will perhaps be useful to give fresh literal translations of the relevant passages in all these sources which were tackled by translators more than half a century ago. Some more sources, hitherto unutilised by historians for a study of our period, enable us to make some comparisons in the Chinese texts which may lead to certain changes in the existing interpretations. The useful passages in these sources do need to be brought to light. It will, perhaps, be better to give their translations before writing a connected account of events which we have based on them.

(i) Ku chin fo-tao-Lun-Hêng,⁽¹⁾ "The envoy to the Western countries, Li I-piao returned and memorised the throne in the 21st year of Cheng kuan" (A.D. 647).⁽²⁾

(3) from previous page: "Missions de Wang Hiuén-ts'è dans l'Inde" in the Jour. Asiatique IX Ser. Tome XV (1900) p.297 ff. p.401 ff.

(1) this page: Chuan-C, Takakusu 52, p.386 b, edict ordering Hsuan-tsang to translate Lao-tzu into Sanskrit. Lévi, Le Missions.... p.308 f.n.1 gives his reference: Chap. 2. fin. Nanj; ed. jap xxxvii, 7, p.20b.

(2) It is important to note here the ambiguity in dating both the return and the memorising in the year 647. The system of fixing dates in the following accounts will show that the date 647 in this passage may perhaps be more correctly applied to "memorising".

(ii) Fa-yuan-chu-lin.⁽¹⁾

According to the account of Wang Hsüan-t'sê he says: "In the 3rd month of the year 17 of Chêng-kuan (643) of the great T'ang was published an Imperial decree which ordered to send on a mission the Ch'ao-san-ta-fu Li I-piao exercising the functions of Wei-wei, assistant of the temples and the superior protector of the army, having as his second, Wang Hsüan-t'sê, former prefect of the Hoang chœi in the district of Ioung with the mission to escort back officially, a Brahman guest to his country.⁽²⁾ In the 12th month of this year they arrived in the kingdom of Magadha. They travelled over it and visited the lands of the Buddha, and contemplated the surviving remains of the Buddha..... In the 19th year (A.D. 645), on the 27th day of the first month they arrived at Rājagṛha, climbed Gr̥dhrakūṭa and set up inscriptions....." (3)

(1) Chuan 29 p.98b. The Fa-yüan-chu-lin preserves in fragments Wang Hsüan-T'se's memoirs known variously as the Chung-T'ien-chu-hsing chi (an account of the voyage in Central India), Wang Hsüan-t'sê-hsing-chuan (an account of the travels of Wang Hsüan-t'sê), Si-kuo-hsing-chuan (a description of the journey to the Kingdoms of the west) and Si-yü-hsing-chuan (description of the journey to the western countries. The loss of these memoirs is very regrettable indeed. The Fa-yüan-chu-lin also preserves sections of an official compilation the Hsi Yu Chi which was based on Hsüan-tsang's Hsi Yu Chi and Wang Hsüan-t'sê's memoirs. The official Hsi Yu Chi is dated 666 and was extant at least until A.D.720, as it is mentioned in the catalogue of the Imperial Library Ku-Chin Shu-lu, which forms the bibliographical chapter of Chin T'ang Shu.

(2) This mission had a commercial purpose as well, because it had been instructed to obtain the Indian recipe for making

(iii) T'ung Tien⁽¹⁾

In the Wu-tê period of T'ang (618-627) the four kingdoms of eastern, western, southern and northern India were all annexed by central India.⁽²⁾

In the 15th year of Cheng-kuan (A.D. 641) its king, whose surname was Ch'i-li-ch'i⁽³⁾ and whose personal name was Śī-lo-i-to (others say his surname was Śā-lī) sent an envoy to present a memorial (to the Chinese throne).

In the 22nd year (A.D. 648) Wang Hsüan-t'sê the yu-wei-shuai-fu Chang-shih went as envoy to India. It so happened that Śī-lo-i-to died and the country fell into great disorder. His minister Nā-fu-ti (King of Nā-fu?) A-lo-na-shun set himself up and then despatched troops to resist Hsüan-T'sê. Hsüan-t'sê fled to the south-west of Tibet and by letter summoned troops from the neighbouring countries. The Tibetans sent out 1200

continuing (2) from previous page....

sugar. It is also recorded that having learnt the method from the Indians, the Chinese soon excelled them in producing tasty sugar.

- (3) Though the text does not make it clear that the Mission was visiting these places of pilgrimage and setting up commemorative tablets on its way back home, this latter suggestion is made by the fact that the holy spots of Magadha were usually visited by the Chinese before leaving for their country and that would be the proper occasion for setting up commemorative inscriptions. Moreover, the Chinese Mission had been in India for over a year and may be expected to have accomplished its commercial as well as its diplomatic tasks during that period.

(1) this page..... Chap. 193, p. 1040 c.

(2) This is the only instance where the four Indias are defined as eastern, western, southern and northern India. It seems that the author here has supplied this detail from his own imagination.

(3) Śrī?

crack troops and the Kingdom of Nepal more than 7,000 cavalry to serve Hsüan-T'sê together with his second in command Chiang Shu-jên led the troops of the two kingdoms and advanced to Ch'a-po-ho-lo city, which was the place where central India is (where the King of central India resided). In a number of battles they greatly defeated them (the Indians), cutting off more than 3,000 heads and those who jumped into the water and were drowned were almost 10,000. He captured the concubine and the prince(s) of the King and others, and took captive 13,000 people male and female, together with more than 30,000 head of cattle and horses. Upon this India was overawed. The cities, towns and villages which submitted numbered more than 580. Thereupon, taking A-lo-na-shun as a captive, he returned.

(iv) The Old T'ang History. (1)

(a) Basic Annals of T'ai Tsung (2)

Under the year 22 of Chêng-kuan (A.D. 648) 5th month Keng-tzu, Wang Hsüan-t'sê, the Yu Wei Chang attacked the kingdom of Ti-na-fu and greatly defeated and captured the king A-lo-na-shun and his wife, son, etc. He took captive 12,000 men and women and over 20,000 oxen and horses, which

(1) Chuans 3, 196 A and 198; Sections: Basic Annals T'ai Tsung, Tufan and T'ien Chu.

(2) The New T'ang history has no parallel section.

presented to the emperor. (1)

(b) Tufan (Tibet)

In the 22nd year (Chêng-kuan) (648) Wang Hsuan t'sê who was Yu-wei-shua-fu-chang-shih went as an envoy to the western countries, and was pillaged by Central India. Tibet sent crack troops to attack T'ien Chu with Hsuan-t'sê and greatly defeated them. (Tibet) sent an envoy to present the victory (to the Chinese emperor).

(c) T'ien Chu (India)

During the reign period Wu-tê (618-627) the country (India) was in great disorder. The succeeding king, Śīlāditya, trained soldiers and gathered together a multitude of people and was invincible wherever he went. The saddles never came off the elephants and the armour never came off the soldiers. After six years the kings of the four Indias (2)

(1) According to Lévi (p.310) "Au Chap. 3, p.86, l'Ancienne Histoire fixe le retour de Wang Hsien-tse avec O-lo-na-choen au 5^e mois, jour Keng-tzen de l'an 22 648/. But we do not agree that this passage is more important than others in fixing the date 648 for the return of Wang Hsuan t'sê. As in other notices of Hsuan-t'sê's mission, both the attack and the return are here lumped together under the same date.

(2) The histories, in contrast to the account of Hsuan-tsang who always refers to the conquest of Five Indias by Śīlāditya, allude to four Indias. Probably they consider Harṣa's own kingdom as the fifth India.

all faced north and submitted to him. His fame spread far and wide and his government was well-ordered.

In the fifteenth year of the Chêng kuan (A.D. 641), Śīlāditya assumed the title, the King of Magadha, and sent an envoy to pay tribute⁽¹⁾ (to China). T'ai Tsung condescended to send a letter with a royal seal on it expressing his gracious solicitude. Śīlāditya was greatly overwhelmed and asked his countrymen, saying, "has an envoy from Mahācīnasthāna ever come to this country?" They all said, "never". He then prostrated himself and received the royal letter. Thereupon he sent an envoy to pay tribute. T'ai tsung, seeing that his land was very far away, treated the envoy with great courtesy. He further sent Li I-piao who was Wei-wei-Ch'eng to return the visit. Śīlāditya sent his great ministers to go outside the city to welcome Li I-piao. Whole cities turned out to watch. Incense was burnt on either side of the road. Śīlāditya, facing east, led his ministers in

(1) Terms denoting the superior attitude of the Chinese emperor occur throughout the Chinese Records but may not be interpreted as indicating Harṣa's subordination to China. (Ettin-ghausen p.54). The Chinese presumed that all other monarchs were of a status inferior to their emperor. Presents from friendly kingdoms are also referred to as tributes from vassal kings. In this connection we may mention an interesting episode describing the meeting of Sung-yun with the King of Grandhāra, who argued with his visitor about the undesirability of standing up to receive diplomatic papers. (Beal, Introduction pp c-ci, to the Buddhist records of the Western World).

prostrating themselves to receive the royal letter. He further sent an envoy to present huo-chu (fire pearl), Yü-chin incense and the Bodhi tree.

In the tenth year of Chêng kuan⁽¹⁾ the monk Hsüan-tsang reached the country and took back Sanskrit texts of over 600 Sūtras and Śāstras.

Previous to that⁽²⁾ Wang Hsüan-t'sê, who was yu-shuai-fu-chang-shih, was sent as an envoy to India. The kings of the four Indias all sent envoys to pay tribute. It so happened that Śīlāditya, the King of Central India, died and there was great disorder in the country. His minister, A-lo-na-shun, king of Na-fu,⁽³⁾ usurped the throne and sent all the barbarian troops to resist Wang Hsüan-t'sê. Hsüan-t'sê, with an escort of 30 horsemen, went and fought with them and was no match for them. When all the arrows were used up they were all captured. The barbarians pillaged all the objects offered as tribute by the various countries. Hsüan-t'sê fled by night to Tibet, which sent 1,200 crack troops together with over 7,000 cavalry from Nepal to go with Hsüan-t'sê. Hsüan-t'sê and his second in command Chiang Shih-jên, led the troops

(1) In fact Hsüan-tsang returned to China a year earlier.

(2) Lévi (p.309) writes "Avant cela /le retour de Hiouen-tsang/. It is no doubt an odd phrase here and cannot be easily explained. Does it mean that previous to his mission as the chief envoy he had been to India as the second in command? /Compare T'sê Fu Yuan Kuei(b)/ or else that before Hsüan-tsang's return, Wang Hsüan-t'sê had visited India (in Li I-piao's mission)?

(3) See below p. 352 f.m.2.

of the two countries and advanced on the capital of Central India. After 3 days of continuous fighting he greatly defeated them, cutting off over 3,000 heads. Those who jumped into water and were drowned numbered almost 10,000. A-lo-na-shun abandoned the city and fled. Shih-jên advanced and took him captive, taking prisoner 12,000 men and women and over 30,000 oxen and horses. Thereupon India was overawed. (Hsüan t'sê) took A-lo-na-shun back as captive and returned to the capital in the 22nd year.⁽¹⁾ T'ai Tsung was greatly pleased and ordered the officials to report this to the ancestral temple.....and Hsüan t'sê was made Chao-san-ta-fu.

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- (1) This notice is most significant because it clearly dates Wang Hsüan t'sê's return in A.D. 648. All other accounts begin the description of Wang Hsüan t'sê's mission under the heading, the year 22, and leave the reader in complete uncertainty as to which of the several events is referred to the year 22 (A.D. 648). This sentence helps us to solve the ambiguity in the other sources, all of which, therefore, may be taken to place the account of the mission in the date in which the curtain fell over the adventurous drama. From this the fact emerges that in such records the date ascribed to the event was usually that in which the report was officially submitted to the emperor. (cf. below p. —) Further evidence in support of A.D. 648 as the date of Wang Hsüan-t'sê's return is to be found in the Ts'ie Fu Yuan Kwei (c) (see below p. 348-) which records that soon after Wang Hsüan-t'sê's victory over the Indians Tibet also sent an envoy to present the victory to China. The date for this event which occurred "soon afterwards" (the 5th month of year 22, apparently) is given as the 6th month of the year 22.

(v) T'ang Hui Yao. (1)

In Wu-tê (the period 618-627) the country (India) was in great disorder. The King Śīlāditya led his army. The saddles never came off the elephants, the armour never came off the soldiers. In six years the Kings of the four Indias all faced north and submitted to him.

In the early years of Chên^g-kuan the Chinese monk Hsuan-tsang reached their central country (capital?). The King of India, Śīlāditya, said to Hsuan-tsang: "I hear that a sage has appeared in China (2) and has composed the music of the Routing of (enemy) formation of the prince of Ch'in. Try and tell me what sort of person he is". Hsuan-tsang duly (3) described the sage (like) virtues of the emperor. The King Śīlāditya said, "if what you say is true, I shall myself pay homage to him".

By the 15th year of Chêng-kuan (A.D. 641) he (Śīlāditya) assumed the title, the King of Magadha, and sent an envoy

(1) Chuan 100. Section T'ien-chu (India)

(2) The New History has "your country", which seems to be a corruption.

(3) The New History has "roughly".

to pay tribute. (1) The emperor (T'ai Tsung) thereupon sent Liang Huai-ching who was Yün-chi-wei to establish relations with the country (India). Śīlāditya was greatly overwhelmed and asked his countrymen: "Has an envoy ever come from Mahācīnasthāna?". They all said: "never".

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- (1) The first mission from India to China was therefore sent before Harṣa's meeting with Hsuan-tsang, which has been satisfactorily fixed in the latter half of A.D. 642 (Cunningham's A.G.I. p. 648; Waley pp. 49 & 62). Ettinghausen (p. 54), and Majumdar (H.C.I.P. Vol. III p. 120), who believe that the mission was the result of the meeting between Harṣa and Hsuan-tsang, are therefore incorrect in their views. Ma Tuan-Lin's account which may have been used by them is confused in its chronology, and depicts the interview of Harṣa and Hsuan-tsang as having taken place after Harṣa's conquest of the five Indias and before the 15th year of Chêng-kuan (A.D. 641). Waley (p. 78) also ignores the evidence of the T'ang Hui Yao and the Ts'ao Fu Yuan Kuei (see below pp. 347), both of which give the date 15th year of Chêng-kuan for Śīlāditya's first mission, and says that Harṣa may have opened relations with China "possibly just after his meeting with Tripitaka". It seems reasonable to believe that Harṣa sent a mission to China before he met the pilgrim, because even if it be argued that the month of the sending of the envoy - which has been omitted by the Chinese records - may have been the eleventh or the twelfth, and therefore fell possibly in A.D. 642, Harṣa did not meet Hsuan-tsang until much later in that year.

By the 4th month of the 22nd year (the emperor) sent Wang-Hsuan t'sê,⁽¹⁾ who was Yü-wei-chang-chih, as envoy to India. When he arrived Śīlāditya was dead and there was great disorder in the country. An army was sent to resist him. Hsuan t'sê fought and was no match for them. So he fled by night to Tibet, which sent 1,200 crack troops, together with 7,000 cavalry of Nepal. Hsuan t'sê and his second in command led the troops of the two countries and greatly defeated them (India). (Hsuan t'sê) came back (to the capital) with the King as captive. T'ai tsung was very pleased.

(vi) T'ai Ping Yü Lan⁽²⁾ bases its account entirely on the Old T'ang history, therefore we do not append its translation.

(vii) T'ai Ping Huan-yü⁽³⁾ Chi⁽³⁾ bases its account entirely on the Tung Tien and need not be reproduced here.

(viii) Ts'ê Fu Yüan Kuei.⁽⁴⁾

(a) 15th year of Chêng-Kuan (641). That year the King of India, Śīlāditya, sent an envoy to pay tribute. The emperor sent Li-I-Piao to return the visit. Its king further

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- (1) This date supplied by the T'ang Hui Yao, which is ^{greatly abridged} not a very carefully compiled work in comparison with some others, has to be rejected in favour of A.D. 648 (5th month) as the year of return of Wang Hsuan t'se.
- (2) Chap. 792, section 7 (p. 9b - 10b)
- (3) Chap. 183, section T'ien-chü.
- (4) Chüans 970, 973, 995 (respectively under accounts of the years 15, 22 and 22).

sent an envoy to present a big pearl (or fire pearl?),
Yü-chin incense and the Bodhi tree.

(b) Chêng-kuan 22-5th moon. Wang-Hsuan-t'sê who was Yu-wei-chang-chih attacked the country of Ti-na-fu and greatly defeated them. Previously Hsuan-t'sê was sent as an envoy to the country of India. It so happened that the king of Central India died and the country was in great disorder. The King of Na-fu-ti, A-na-shun,⁽¹⁾ set himself up and sent barbarian troops to resist Hsuan-t'sê. Hsuan-t'sê escaped by night and reached the western borders of Tibet. He sent out letters to demand troops from neighbouring countries. Tibet sent 1,200 crack troops. The country (read kuo instead of ku) of Nepal sent over 7,000 cavalry with Hsuan t'sê to attack A-na-shun, who greatly defeated him (A-na-shun). Tibet soon afterwards sent an envoy to present the victory to China.

(c) 22nd year of Chêng-kuan - 6th month (648). Tibet came to present the victory to India.⁽²⁾

(1) Usually the name is spelt A-lo-na-shun and interpreted as Arunāśva. The possibility that the last two syllables may have got inter-changed is also taken into account and the name is also interpreted as Arjuna. The present reading A-no-shun seems to support the latter interpretation. It is possible that, not being sure whether the sound was 'lo' or 'na', the Chinese put in both the syllables, of which 'lo' is dropped here. It may, of course, be a slip in the present case as it is not supported by any other text.

(2) ~~Chuans 216 A (Tibet) and 221 A (India).~~

Please see next page

(ix) The New T'ang History. (1)

(a) Tibet.

In the 22nd year (of Chêng-kuan) Wang Hsüan t'sê, who was yu-wei-shuai-fu-chang-shih, was sent as an envoy to Hsi Yü (the western countries) and was ambushed by Chung T'ien Chu (Central India). Neng Tsan sent crack troops to follow Hsüan-tsê (who) defeated them and came to present the captives (to the Chinese emperor).

(b) India.

In the reign period of Wu-tê (618-627), the country (i.e. India) was in great disorder. The King Śīlāditya led his armies and was invincible. The saddles never came off the elephants and the armour never came off the soldiers. He marched against the four Indias and they all faced north and submitted to him.

It so happened that the T'ang monk, Hsüan-tsang, arrived in his country. Śīlāditya sent for him and said to him, "there is a sage who has appeared in your country and composed the Music of the Routing of (enemy) Formation of the Prince of Ch'in. Try and tell me what sort of a person he is". Hsüan-tsang gave a rough description of the godlike military prowess of T'ai Tsung and how he subdued disorder and caused the four barbarians to submit. Śīlāditya was pleased and said, "I shall face east and pay homage

(2) This notice is most significant as it helps to establish of previous page finally the date of Wang Hsüan-t'sê return to China in the 5th month of A.D. 648.

(1) Chians 216 A (Tibet) and 221 A (India)
of this page

to him".

In the 15th year of Chêng-kuan (A.D. 641) he assumed the title of the King of Magadha and sent an envoy to present a letter. The emperor (T'ai Tsung) ordered Liang Huai-ching, who was yün-chi-wei, as envoy (lit. holding credentials) to convey his gracious solicitude. Śīlāditya was overwhelmed and asked his countrymen whether an envoy from Mahācīnasthāna had ever before arrived in his country. They all replied, "never". (Mahācīnasthāna is the barbarian name for China). He went out to welcome the envoy and prostrated himself to receive the imperial letter, which he placed on his own head. He then sent an envoy to accompany (the Chinese envoy) to the Chinese court. The emperor ordered Li I-piao, who was Wei-wei-ch'êng, to return the visit. The great ministers (of India) went outside the city to welcome him and cities were emptied as the people flocked to watch, and incense was burnt along the way. Śīlāditya led his ministers, facing east, to receive the imperial letter, and sent as tribute huo chu (fire pearl) yü chin incense, and the Bodhi tree.

In the 22nd year (of Chêng-kuan) the emperor sent Wang Hsuan-t'sê, who was Yü-wei-shuai fu chang-shi, on a mission to the country (India) with Chiang Shih-jên as second in command. Before their arrival Chi-lo-i-to (Śīlāditya) died and the kingdom fell into disorder. His minister,

the King of Na fu, A lo-na-shun, set himself up and sent troops to resist Wang-Hsuan-t'sê. Wang then had an escort of only a few tens of men, so they were overcome and all perished. The objects offered in tribute by the various kingdoms were pillaged. Wang Hsuan t'sê escaped and fled to the western frontier of Tibet and summoned armed help from the neighbouring countries. Tibet came with a thousand soldiers, while Nepal came with 7,000 horsemen. Wang Hsuan-t'sê disposed his army into groups and advanced as far as the town of Cha (T'u) -po-ho-lo.⁽¹⁾ At the end of three days he took it. 3,000 heads were cut off and 10,000 who jumped into the water were drowned. A-lo-na-shun left the kingdom, fled, and gathered together his dispersed troops into battle formation again. Shih-jên took him prisoner and captured and decapitated (his followers) in thousands. The remnant of his people rallied round the king's wife and child⁽²⁾ and barred the passage to the river,

(1) See below p. 352. f.n. 2

(2) This significant fact, of which there are only a few similar examples in Indian history, has been overlooked or wrongly ignored by historians though the translators of Ma-twan-lin made available the relevant passage to them a long time ago. (I.A. Vol. IX 1880). The translator in the J.A.S.B. Vol. VI Pt. I 1837, gives a rather faulty interpretation to the passage).

Chien-to-wei.⁽¹⁾ Shih-jên attacked and routed them. He took prisoner the wife and son of the King, and captured 12,000 men and women and 30,000 various domestic animals. He received the submission of 580 cities and villages. The King of Eastern India, Shih-ch'in, (Śrī Kumāra), sent as a gift 30,000 oxen and horses as provisions for the army and also bows, swords and spears. The Kingdom of Chia-mo-lu (Kāmarūpa) offered curiosities to the emperor, and a map of the country, and asked for a picture (or statue) of Lao-tzu. Wang Hsuan-t'sê took prisoner A-lo-na-Shun and humbly offered him to the emperor. The officials reported this to the ancestral temples.Wang Hsuan-t'sê was promoted to the rank of Ch'ao-san-ta-fu.

(x) Tzū Chih T'ung Chien.⁽¹⁾

22nd year (of Chêng-kuan) (A.D. 648) 5th moon.

Wang Hsuan-t'sê, the Yu-wei-shuai-chang-shi attacked the King of Ti-na-fu-ti⁽²⁾ A-lo-na-shun and greatly defeated

(1) Chuan 199, section India. (1a) See below p. 6. n. 2.

(2) This reading with the "ti" both preceding and following "Na-fu" occurs for the first time and almost exactly corresponds with Tīrābhukti especially as the old pronunciation of "fu" is likely to have been 'buk'. Thus A-lo-na-shun who is called the usurper of Harṣa's throne may in fact have been the King of Tīrābhukti, situated between Magadha and Nepal. Taking advantage of Harṣa's death he may have displaced the previous King of Tīrābhukti, who was probably under Harṣa's influence, and refused against precedent, entry to the Chinese who were friends of his immediate neighbours, Nepal and Tibet, with whom he may have been on hostile terms.

We are told that after the first ambush between Wang Hsuan-t'sê and the King of Ti-na-fu, the former collected armies from Tibet as well as Nepal and advanced as far as the city of Cha-po-mo-lo, which was apparently very near the river Chien-to-

him. Previously Chi-lo-i-to (Śīlāditya) the King of Central India had the strongest army. All the four Indias were subject to him. Wang Hsuan-t'sé went as imperial envoy to India. All the different countries sent envoys to pay tribute to China. It happens that Śīlāditya died and

continued from previous page...

wei which, according to the commentator of the Tzū Chih T'ung Chien, was the first to the west and then to the north of the Ganges. Hsin Shu's commentator locates Cha-po-ho-lo on the bank of the Chieh-pi-li river, which Ma Tuan-lin identifies with the Ganges. In the Hsin Shu it is also stated that the R. Ch'ien-to-wei was north of the country of To-wei. Cha-po-ho-lo corresponds well with Champāran and the R. Ch'ien-to-wei with the R. Gandakī, which is a tributary of the Ganges. Both Champāran and the Gandakī are not far from Tīrābhukti. Cha-po-ho-lo is always stated to be a city of Central India.

Smith (Early History pp.366-7) and Vaidya (H.M.H.I. Vol.I pp.334-5) identify Cha (tu)-po-ho-lo with Tirhut (originally Tīrābhukti), and the river Ch'ien-to-wei with the R. Bāgmatī of Nepal, but both these identifications seem to be incorrect. Neither may Cha-po-ho-lo be identified with Davāka, a possibility brought to notice by Lévi (Jour. Asiat. 1900, p.306, fn2). De la Vallée Poussin (Dynasties..p.110) identifies Chien-to-wei with Ganges(?) and Ch'ieh-pi-li with the R. Gogrā. The anonymous translator of Ma Tuan-lin (J.A.S.B.Vol.VI p.69) equates Cha-po-ho-lo with Champāran, the identification we agree with, but commits a clumsy mistake in identifying the Ch'ien-to-wei with the Godāvarī. It is Lévi who suggests the possibility 'Gandakī' or 'Gandavati', which we have accepted. As for the identification of Ti-na-fu or Na-fu-ti, the reading Ti-na-fu-ti in the present text seems to offer a very satisfactory solution because it corresponds so well with Tīrābhukti, which was also very near the city where the battle is stated to have taken place. The previous attempts at equating Na-fu-ti with Senāpati (Jour. Asiat., 1892, p.338) or explaining it as the King of the country of the Brahmans (Lévi, Jour. Asiat.1900, p.300 fn.2), are not satisfactory.

there was great disorder in the country. His minister, A-lo-na-shun, set himself up and sent his barbarian troops to attack Hsuan t'sê. Hsuan t'sê let his thirty followers fight against them but they were no match for the troops. They were all captured. A-lo-na-shun robbed them of all the tributes from the various countries. Wang Hsuan t'sê got away and fled by night. He reached the western borders of Tu-fan (Tibet) and sent out letters asking for troops from various neighbouring countries. Tu-fan sent 1,200 crack troops. Nepal sent over 7,000 cavalry to go to him. Hsuan t'sê and his second in command, Chiang Shih-jên, led the troops of the two countries and advanced to the city of Cha-po-ho-lo,⁽¹⁾ where Central India is. After three days of continuous fighting he greatly defeated them. They cut off more than 3,000 heads, those who were drowned when they jumped into water were almost 10,000. A-lo-na-shun abandoned the city and fled. Then he collected the remnants of his army and returned to fight with Shih jên, who again defeated him and captured A-lo-na-shun. The remaining soldiers rallied round the wife and the prince and barred the way at the Chien-to-wei river.⁽²⁾ Shih jên advanced and attacked them. He

(1) See previous footnote.

(2) In a note it is stated that this river was first to the west and then to the north of Ganges. See previous footnote.

dispersed the troops and captured the wife and the prince and took men and women captives to the number of 12,000. Thereupon India was overawed and 580 cities and villages surrendered. Wang Hsuan t'sê came back to (the capital) with A-lo-na-shun and was made Chao-san-ta-fu.

(xi) Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao by Ma Tuan-lin. (1)

This work reproduces literally the account preserved in the New T'ang history.

We give below a brief connected account of the Sino-Indian Missions and Harṣa's death as based on the above sources.

Harṣa took the initiative in opening relations with China and sent an envoy to T'ai Tsung's court in A.D. 641. The Chinese emperor reciprocated the friendly gesture by despatching a mission under Liang Huai-ching, who was warmly welcomed by Harṣa. An Indian envoy accompanied Liang Huai-ching to China and was treated by T'ai Tsung "with great courtesy". In the spring of A.D. 643 Li I-piao, with Wang Hsuan-t'sê as the second in command, was sent on a commercial and diplomatic mission to India. He arrived at the Kingdom of Magadha towards the end of that year, or at the beginning of the next.

(1) Chuan 338, Section India

Li I-piao's mission seems to have stayed in India for a long time. Early in 645, the two envoys are reported to have set up inscriptions at Gr̥dhrakūṭa and Mahābodhi, presumably on their return journey. Li I-piao may have reached home at the end of that year or early next year.⁽¹⁾ We know from other accounts that T'ai Tsung was at this time engaged in a war against Liao-tung (Manchuria), therefore he may not have given audience to Li I-piao until much later. Li I-piao is stated to have "memorised the throne" in A.D. 647. The representative whom Harṣa is reported to have sent in return to Li I-piao's visit also seems to have travelled to China with the envoy of that country.

As we have just stated, T'ai Tsung may not have been able to see Li I-piao until sometime after his return, but he seems to have issued orders for sending another mission to India, this time under the command of Wang Hsuan t'sé. To give this enthusiastic envoy enough time for his journeys to and from India and for his adventurous exploits, his departure

(1) Waley (p.90) however dates the return at the end of the year 646. But the next envoy, Wang Hsuan-t'sé, whose journey was packed with events, must have left at least at the beginning of A.D. 647 to have been back in China in the summer of 648. The end of the year 646 as the date of return of Li I-piao's mission does not allow enough time for the official business, which must have intervened between the two missions.

from China should be placed at the very beginning of the year 647. Harṣa, the news of whose death was learnt by the Chinese on their way to his kingdom, therefore may have died either towards the end of A.D. 646 or early in 647.

If our identifications of Ti-na-fu-ti, Cha-po-ho-lo and Ch'ien-to-wei are correct, Wang Hsüan t'sé was resisted by the Indians soon after he had crossed the borders of Nepal. Arjuna (A-lo-na-shun or A-lo-shun), the King of Tīrābhukti (Ti-na-fu-ti) appears to have usurped the throne of his master - the previous king of that country, who was under Harṣa's influence - during the disorder that ensued after the latter's death. The belief that Arjuna succeeded the throne of Harṣa at Kanauj or even Magādhā, therefore, seems to be incorrect.

Arjuna's hostile act resulted in great humiliation and disaster for him. Wang Hsüan T'sé, though he lost most of his companions in the first ambush, succeeded in escaping to Tibet, a country friendly to China, where he mustered a strong force. Returning to Arjuna's kingdom, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy, killing and capturing several thousand people and securing herds of animals. Arjuna himself was taken captive and was transported to China, where he was proudly presented to the emperor in the summer of A.D. 648. Wang Hsüan-t'sé was amply rewarded for his achievement.

The lack of male issue and perhaps, also, of a nominated successor was one of the causes of the break-up of Harṣa's empire. The heterogeneous character of his empire, consisting of 'countries' under his direct rule, principalities under petty Sāmantas and kingdoms governed by subordinate allies was no doubt largely responsible for the speedy disintegration of his vast domains. Some of the dynasties which were just beginning to assert power at the end of the rule of the Imperial Guptas had become well-established during the four decades of Harṣa's rule, though, owing allegiance to him during this period. Harṣa appears to have been more intent on the extension of territory rather than on ruthlessly cutting down the powers of the kings forming his 'maṇḍala'.

This system of government signalised in the epoch-making reign of Harṣa may be attributed not so much to the personal characteristics of the ruler as to the evolution of Indian polity, which at once became apparent in the reign of this early medieval monarch. After intervals of disorderly activity great empires sprang up in this period, but these intervals were not blind alleys, in which took place constant affrays which used up the vitality of the petty kings for no ultimate purpose. The remarks of Louis de la Vallée

(1) to which our notice has been drawn by Dr. A.L. Basham

Poussin, give an interpretation of such periods of Indian history which is quite different from that of Vincent-Smith. (1)

"L'Inde des rājas, des rois des rois et des grands chefs féodaux, mérite l'attention. Elle n'est pas, ainsi qu'on le dit souvent, une masse chaotique périodiquement et vainement agitée par l'ambition des potentats et la turbulence des princes. Elle présente un intérêt proprement historique. Non seulement cette Inde révèle l'esprit guerrier des dynastes et ces rājpoutes en même temps que la solidité d'organismes administratifs et commerciaux compliqués, mais encore elle est le théâtre du conflit d'un certain nombre d'États poursuivant des fins économiques et politiques précises.

"C'est, à mon avis, à tort qu'un indianiste, très judicieux d'ordinaire, écrit que 'jusqu'au XI^e siècle... les guerres de l'Inde furent simplement des luttes entre des dynasties rivales, ...dépourvues de toute signification'. Je pense qu'on peut montrer que ces dynasties défendaient les intérêts permanents du pays où elles régnaient, des intérêts à proprement parler 'nationaux'".

(Dynasties .. pp.xiii-xiv)
and

"Parmi les lois évidentes de l'Histoire de l'Inde, la nécessité où sont les pouvoirs gangétiques d'assurer la

(1) Early Hist. of India (4th ed.) p.370.

"sécurité de leurs domaines et de la voie Jumna-Gange en soumettant ou en 'déracinant' les chefs ou les clans de nord et de sud qui les menacent; d'entreprendre vers Tāmraliptī et l'Orissa ('Asōka, Samudragupta, Harṣa) pour garder l'accès à la mer orientale; de fermer la porte du Nord-Ouest, soit en occupant le Penjab (les Mauryas seuls y réussirent), soit du moins en tenant les districts entre le bassin du Gange et de l'Indus (Guptas, Harṣa, Pratihāras); d'annexer le Mālava et ses annexes, les portes du golfe de Cambaye nécessaires au commerce.

"On voit bien aussi que les souverains du Mahārāṣṭra, qui est situé derrière les Ghats, convoitent les ports du Konkan, et sont aux pouvoirs gangétiques. La même géographie veut qu'ils s'installent, chaque fois que c'est possible, dans les riches districts côtiers de la mer orientale, portes de l'Extrême-Orient.

"Les guerres des souverains de Kāncī (Pallavas, Colas) contre leurs voisins s'expliquent, de même par de profondes raisons"

(1)
(Dynasties....p.xiv f.n.l.)

(1) The English translation of these passages as given by Dr. A. L. Basham in his paper "Modern Historians of Ancient India" is as follows :

"The India of the rājās, the kings of kings and the great feudal chiefs is worthy of our attention. She is not, as is often said, a chaotic mass from time to

Continuing fn.1. from previous page ...

time vainly shaken up by the ambition of potentates and the turbulence of princes. She is of truly historical interest. Not only does this India reveal at once the warlike spirit of dynasts and Rajputs and the solidity of complex administrative and commercial bodies, but she is also the scene of the conflict of a certain number of states pursuing precise economic and political ends.

"In my opinion a certain Indologist, usually very shrewd in his judgments, was mistaken when he wrote that until the eleventh century the wars of India were simply struggles to show that these dynasties were defending the permanent interests of the country they ruled, interest which may truly be called "national".

"Among the obvious laws of the history of India is the necessity in which the Gangetic powers are placed of ensuring the safety of their domains and of the Jumna-Ganges route by subordinating or "uprooting" the chiefs or clans who may threaten them to the north or south; of expanding towards Tāmralipti and Orissa (Aśoka, Samudragupta, Harṣa) to protect their access to the eastern sea; of closing the gate of the North-West, either by occupying the Panjab (in which only the Mauryas succeeded), or at least by holding the districts between the Ganges Basin and the Indus (Guptas, Harṣa, Pratihāras); and of annexing Mālava and its dependencies, the ports of the gulf of Cambay which are necessary for commerce.

"It is also quite clear that the rulers of Mahārāṣṭra, which is situated behind the Ghats, coveted the ports of the Konkan, and /compelled for geographical/ were and economic reasons to dispute the control of Mālava with the Gangetic powers. The same geography led them to establish themselves whenever possible in the rich coastal districts of the eastern sea, the gates of the Far East.

"The wars of the rulers of Kāñcī (Pallavas, Colas) against their neighbours may similarly be explained by sound reasons."

between rival dynasties, devoid of all significance. I think it is possible

APPENDIX I

The Harṣa Era

In addition to Harṣa's own inscriptions, the Banskhera and the Madhuban plates (Kielhorn Nos. 528 and 529), the following records, dated according to an unnamed era, are now generally attributed to the Harṣa era of A.D. 606. ⁽¹⁾

- (1) The Shahpur Stone image inscription of Ādītyasena, year 66 (Bhandarkar No. 1393).
- (2) Peheva inscription of the time of Bhojadeva (Pratīhāra) year 276 (Bh. No. 1412).
- (3) Ahar inscriptions with dates ranging between 258 and 298 (Bh. Nos. 1409-11, 1414, 1415, 1417-20).
- (4) Inscriptions of the Kara dynasty, dated 160, 280, 287 (Bh. Nos. 1404, 1413, 1416).
- (5) Some inscriptions from Rājasthān, Punjab and central India dated 182, 184 and 218. Bh. Nos. 182, 184, 218.

(1) E. I. Vol. V.

(6) Seven dates in a stone inscription found at Kaman (E. I. XXIV p.329).

(7) An inscription in Hund, dated 169 (E.I.XXII p.97).⁽¹⁾

The fact that Harṣa founded an era and that its commencement should be placed in A.D.606 has been almost unanimously accepted by scholars. Recently, however, Dr. R. C. Majumdar started a controversy by expressing the view that this belief rests on very slender foundations.⁽²⁾ Dr. D. C. Sircar, in reply to the above doubt, has maintained that there is hardly any evidence against the generally accepted view.⁽³⁾ Without going into the details of the arguments put forth by the two scholars, we shall give our reasons for believing that Harṣa started an era beginning from A.D.606.

(1) We have omitted the two Pratihāra records and the eleven Nepalese inscriptions, which have been successfully demonstrated by Dr. Bhandarkar (J.B.B.R.A.S. XXI, p.405 f.) to be dated in Vikrama era. Dr. Kielhorn (E.I. V App. pp.73-4) also doubted this ascription. ff)

It may be noted that V.V.Mirashi (I.H.Q. Vol.XXIX p.191/ has recently published an article entitled "The Harsa and Bhātika eras" in which, on the basis of a revised reading of the dates of the Hund inscription, he has argued that the Bhātika era, starting in c.A.D.624, has been used for dating the aforesaid inscription.

(2) I.H.Q. Vol. 27, p.183 ff. & Vol. 28 p.280 ff.

(3) I.H.Q. Vol. 27, p.321 ff. & Vol. 29, p.72 ff.

Writing about India in the eleventh century, Alberuni or Abu Raihan states: ".....people.....have adopted....the eras of -

- (1) Śrī Harsha
- (2) Vikramāditya
- (3) Śaka
- (4) Valabha and
- (5) Gupta

.....His (i.e. Śrī Harsha's) era is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanoj. Between Śrī Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian Calendar I have read that Śrī Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramaditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty.....".⁽¹⁾

For demonstrating the application of the various eras to the year 400 of Yazdajird a little later⁽²⁾ Alberuni calculates the date in the Harṣa era according to the Mathurā and Kanauj tradition, which placed the commencement of this era 400 years before the Vikrama era, i.e. in 457 B.C. But the reckoning of the Kashmirian calendar, according to which Harṣa was "664 years later than Vikramāditya", places

(1) Alberuni's India tr. Sachau II. p.5.

(2) op. cit. p.7.

the Harṣa era in A.D.606⁽¹⁾ which we think was really the era prevalent in Alberuni's time in Mathura and Kanauj. The inhabitants of this region no doubt deliberately led astray the Muslim scholar, probably to impress him with the antiquity of the era they used. Alberuni, though in possession of the right information, was tricked into giving preference to the Kanauj version, which naturally seemed more authentic on its face value. It is well known that he misunderstood, similarly, the traditions relating to the Gupta Era. His critical pen, however, has preserved for us the valuable information he got from the Kashmirian Calendar, that one Harṣa era commenced in A.D.606.

We shall now examine the basis for accepting A.D.606 as the date of Harṣa's accession on the throne, which served as the starting date for an era.

The astronomical data provided by the Harṣacrita helps us to determine the date of Harṣa's birth in A.D.590.⁽²⁾ All the circumstances of that period support the view that Harṣa ascended the throne at an early age after his elder brother was killed in his early youth.⁽³⁾ Harṣa's era, beginning in A.D.606, is in accordance with this fact.

(1) Cunningham (Book of Indian Eras p.64) gives the date as A.D.607.

(2) H. C. Trans. pp.109-110.

(3) See above p.

Hsüan-tsang tells us that when the Buddhist oracle advised Harṣa to accept the throne of Kanauj he also counselled him not to ascend the "Śimhāsana" nor to call himself Mahārāja. Harṣa, therefore, styled himself Kumāra Śīlāditya.⁽¹⁾ But after the subjugation of the five Indias in a six year period, a fact recorded by Hsüan-tsang,⁽²⁾ Harṣa must have assumed full imperial dignity and may have celebrated the event at his new capital of Kanauj in A.D.612. Thus, when it is recorded in the "Life" that Śīlāditya told the pilgrim that he had been the lord of India for thirty years and more in A.D.643,⁽³⁾ the year 612 is apparently looked on as marking the beginning of Harṣa's imperial rule. It appears that Hsüan-tsang does not take into account the first six years of Harṣa's reign when his imperial titles, which he must have assumed after his father's death, signified his suzerainty over Sthānvīśvara only, and when, as far as Kanauj was concerned, he was a mere "Kumāra". In view of the fact that Hsüan-tsang makes no comment at all on Harṣa's connection with Sthānvīśvara, and makes

(1) Beal I. p.213

(2) Ibid.

(3) Life, p.183.

a note of the fact that Harṣa adopted the most unassuming title Kumāra (i.e. prince) when he accepted the throne of Kanauj, his calculation of the beginning of Harṣa's rule as from A.D. 612, and the words attributed by him to Harṣa, are not at all surprising. But Harṣa, who inherited a considerable kingdom in A.D. 606, and who presumably assumed the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja of Sthānviśvara on accession and launched a 'digvijaya' campaign in the same year, must have calculated A.D. 606 as the beginning of his reign, an appropriate landmark for the commencement of an era.

Hsuan-tsang's remarks in the Records about Harṣa's rule of over thirty years after the six year warfare⁽¹⁾ seem to stand as he noted them down when he met Harṣa last in A.D. 643, and not as he arranged them for the 'Records', which were completed towards the end of A.D. 646.⁽²⁾ Because in the 'Life' also, which was completed after the return of Wang Hsuan-ts'ê's mission which brought the news of Harṣa's death to China, Harṣa is reported to have said, in A.D. 643, that he had ruled for over thirty years.⁽³⁾ At the time the Life was written up between 648 and 649,⁽⁴⁾ Hsuan-tsang

(1) Watters I, p.343.

(2) Waley p.89.

(3) Life, p.183.

(4) Waley p.280.

knew about Harṣa's death in A.D.647, and made his biographer add to the existing material the story of a dream that he had dreamt in A.D.640, forecasting Harṣa's death "after ten years".⁽¹⁾ The original character was probably for seven "but 'ten' and 'seven' look very much alike in Chinese, and in T'ang texts they are often confused; so perhaps the prophecy was exact".⁽²⁾

(1) Life p.155

(2) Waley p.52; seven = 七 ten = 十

APPENDIX II

 Harṣa's Coins

Historians eagerly hoped to find Harṣa's coins once the story of his great career had been rediscovered by them through the works of Bāṇa and Hsüan-tsang.

In his "Coins of Medieval India", published in 1894, Cunningham illustrated a coin⁽²⁾ showing, on the obverse, the figure of a horseman, with the legend "Harṣadeva", and, on the reverse, that of a goddess seated on a throne with the cornucopiae in her left hand, which he ascribed to King Harṣadeva of Kashmir, whose association with Kabul induced him to imitate the money of the Śāhī rulers of that kingdom. Hoernle, who seems to have been unaware of this fact,⁽⁴⁾ doubted Cunningham's ascription, and suggested that the coin

(1) J.R.A.S. 1903, p.547

(2) Coins of Mediaeval India, Plate 5, No.21, pp.36-7 & 46

(3) Rājatarāṅginī VII 956, 1550, 1571, 1579. Kalhana informs us that Harṣa's chief queen Vasantalekhā belonged to the Śāhī dynasty.

(4) He seems to have noted the fact of Harṣadeva's connection with Kaṇāṭa only.

belonged to Harṣa of Kanauj, who is also sometimes referred to as Harṣadeva. Moreover, he says that the emblem on the coin, of the horseman with the lance at rest "is the mark of the early Rajputs", and "the chiefs of Thanesar were Rajputs". We do not agree with the latter statement and have elsewhere given our reasons for believing the truth of Hsüan-tsang's statement that Harṣa was of the Vaiśya class. Moreover, the identity of the Harṣadeva of the coin with the Harṣa of Kashmir is too well attested by facts recorded by Kalhana to admit of any doubt. Sir Richard Burn also observes that Dr. Hoernle's attribution of this coin to Harṣa "does not seem quite satisfactory."⁽¹⁾

In 1904 an earthen pot, containing one gold, 522 silver and eight copper coins was found in the village of Bhiṭaura, district Fyzabad (Oudh). In 1906 Sir Richard Burn wrote a paper on this find, entitled "Some coins of the Maukharis and of the Thanesar line",⁽²⁾ illustrating some specimens of the coins. 284 silver coins of this hoard bear the legend "Śrī Śāladata" (Śrī Śīlāditya), while nine belong to "Śrī Pratapaśāla" (Śrī Pratāpaśīla). Of the remaining pieces, thirty-two silver coins are of

(1) J.R.A.S. 1906, p.847.

(2) J.R.A.S. 1906 pp.843-850.

the Maukhari Kings and one of a king named Harśa (not Harṣa). Names of kings and in many cases dates also have disappeared from 192 coins. The gold coin is of the later Indo-Scythian type, the copper coins are of Pratāpāditya II of Kashmir, and of the four remaining silver coins, three are "Varāha drammas" and one is of uncertain type.

The 518 silver coins of the two first-mentioned categories are of the Gupta silver type; that is, they bear a large head with a date on one side, and a peacock on the other, with a long inscription. On seven coins the head faces the right, as on the Gupta coins, while on the others, which include all the coins of Śīlāditya and Pratāpaśīla, it faces the left. The inscriptions round the peacock in every case but one read "Vijitāvanir-avanīpati Śrī (name) devo jayati". The vowels are only marked in a few types.

We concur with Burn that "it....seems reasonable to identify Pratāpaśīla (of the coins) with Prabhākaravardhana, and Śīlāditya with Harṣa".⁽¹⁾ Burn, however, does not argue a case for this identification, and the ascription

(1) J.R.A.S. 1906, p.847.

has been accepted only half-heartedly by scholars, who have probed into the question no further than to quote the authority of Burn, who it appears will have to bear the sole blame if fresh data proves his assumption to be unwarranted.⁽¹⁾

We, on our part, believe that Burn's ascription, though not backed by lengthy or reasoned argument, is correct, and is supported by the following facts.

The Chinese sources inform us that Harṣa adopted the biruda Śīlāditya on his accession to the throne of Kanauj. Though the indigenous sources do not mention Harṣa as Śīlāditya they honour Prabhākaravardhana with the title 'Pratāpaśīla', which inclines us to treat the Chinese evidence regarding Harṣa's biruda as perfectly authentic. Harṣa records his father's biruda in his inscriptions and it seems reasonable to expect that he used his own also for official purposes. He may well have issued his coins in the name Śīlāditya, especially if his father also used his own biruda for marking his coinage, which we believe he did, as we agree with Burn that the Pratāpaśīla coins of the Bhitaura hoard are to be attributed to Prabhākaravardhana.

(1) e.g. Tripathi, p.117 writes: "If the Śīlāditya coins found in the Bhitaura hoard....are to be attributed to Harṣa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn.....".

The two dated coins of Pratāpaśīla raise certain problems. Each date consists of three symbols. The topmost is the letter 'sa', and one would ordinarily expect this to represent the hundreds, as the other symbols are apparently 10 and 1 or 11. The only symbol for a number which resembles 'sa' is, however, that used for 40, but no symbol for hundreds, resembling this letter, is to be found. The coins of Śīlāditya show clearly that the 'sa' cannot be 40. Therefore it seems that 'sa' stands for *saṃvat*. The 'sa' on Śīlāditya's coins, which invariably appears as the highest symbol, is also to be taken for *saṃvat*. The regnal years on Harṣa's inscriptions which we know to be dated in the Harṣa era are also preceded by the word '*saṃvat*', which no doubt stands for the Harṣa *Samvat*. The point cannot therefore be raised that the 'sa', representing '*saṃvat*' on the Śīlāditya coins, stands for a long established era, such as the Vikrama or the Gupta, which need not have been referred to by its full name. We believe that as well as in his inscriptions Harṣa used '*saṃvat*' for his own era on the coins, abbreviating the word owing to their small size.

The figure eleven on Pratāpaśīla's coins and the dates ranging from one to 33 on those of Śīlāditya, indicate that the two monarchs used different eras. It may well be that

Prabhākaravardhana, who was the first King of his family to attain the status of a Mahārājadhirāja, may have celebrated his attainment by starting an era, a practice which was very much in fashion in those days. Harṣa founded yet another era in A.D.606, probably to commemorate his success in securing the throne of Kanauj, and seems to have issued his first coins under the newly acquired title Śīlāditya.⁽¹⁾ The date 11 on Pratāpaśīla's coin is quite in keeping with the length of Prabhākaravardhana's reign, which started in c.A.D.580 and terminated in A.D.606. New coins may have been issued by Prabhākara- vardhana to celebrate the birth of the royal prince Harṣa in A.D.590, when he had been on the throne for nearly a decade. It is well-known that coins were generously distributed among the populace on festive occasions. The date 33 on Śīlāditya's coins is compatible with the duration of Harṣa's reign, which we believe lasted for over forty years from A.D.606 to A.D.647.

From a comparison of the coins of the Maukharis and those of Śīlāditya and Pratāpaśīla, it is clear that though the general appearance of the Gupta type coins was retained by the two dynasties, the established tradition of a

(1) Beal I, p.213.

continuous dating was repeatedly flouted.

The findspot of the hoard containing so many coins of Śīlāditya, and the fact that Pratāpasīla's and Śīlāditya's coins have been found together, also favours the identification of these two kings with Prabhākaravardhana, and Harṣa. Though several Śīlādityas ruled from Valabhi in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, the coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard may be most satisfactorily ascribed to Harṣa Śīlāditya.

It will be well to examine here the arguments put forward by Hoernle⁽¹⁾ in repudiation of Burn's ascription.

The German scholar states that before attributing the Śīlāditya coins to Harṣa, it must be proved that he had assumed that title officially. As neither Bāṇa nor other Indian sources mention this biruda of Harṣa, and as Hsüan-tsang is our sole authority on this point, it appears that Harṣa was known by this title only in "Buddhist monkish communities".

One may comment in passing that if, as Hoernle believes, Harṣa was popularly known by this biruda amongst Buddhist communities only, the chances are greatly reduced of finding a reference to this biruda by Bāṇa, who was a Brahman. However, Hoernle's argument is better refuted by the fact

(1) J.R.A.S. 1909, p.446 ff.

that Harṣa is referred to as Śīlāditya not only by the Buddhist monk who was a pious pilgrim, but also by the diplomatic envoys who had been deputed by the Chinese emperor to carry out official business. They, at least, may not be expected to have obtained their information from the "Buddhist monkish communities!" We believe that the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard are the available indigenous evidence of the official use of the title Śīlāditya by Harṣa, who seems to have followed his father's tradition in issuing his coinage under a biruda.

Hoernle attributes the coins of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya to a king possessing both these names, known to us from the Rājatarāṅginī.⁽¹⁾ Speaking of Pravarasena, Kalhaṇa says that "he replaced Pratāpaśīla, also called Śīlāditya, the son of Vikramaditya, who had been dethroned by enemies in the kingdom of his father." This Vikramāditya is identified with Yaśodharman of Mālava, who is credited in the Mandasor inscription⁽²⁾ with extensive conquests as far as the Himālayas, and Śīlāditya with his son of the same name.⁽³⁾

(1) Book III verse 330.

(2) C.I.I. III No.33.

(3) Hoernle, J.R.A.S. 1903, p.545 ff.

Hoernle writes that "the discovery of coins in the names of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya is a striking confirmation of the truth of the old Indian tradition". According to his reckoning, Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya's rule lasted "from about 580 to 608, or 612, that is from the death of Vikramāditya (Yaśodharman) to the great victory, or to the coronation of Harshavardhana. This gives us a period from 26 to 32 years".⁽¹⁾ But we know that Burn reads the latest date on Śīladitya's coins as 33. There are 30 coins with this date. On 14 more coins the symbol for 30 is fairly certain, but the unit is gone or very doubtful in every case. These coins may be of the year 32, but they may well have been of the years after 33. In any case, as the longest duration ascribed to Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya by Hoernle is 32 years, the Śīlāditya coins issued at least until the year 33 cannot be ascribed to the Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya of Hoernle's identification. Moreover, there is little likelihood that a king named Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya should have chosen his latter name for use on a

(1) Hoernle's identification of Pratāpaśīla-Śīlāditya as the son of Yaśodharman is, incidentally, almost impossible if Kalhana's chronology is followed. Yaśodharman was evidently at the height of his power in A.D. 532 (C.I.I. III, p.154), and it is hardly very unlikely that he could have survived until A.D. 580.

large number of coins for most of his regnal years but should have suddenly reverted to the former name for the coins issued in his eleventh year. This is, however, by no means a conclusive argument, because we are making this suggestion only on the basis of the coins yet discovered.

But Hoernle is not in the least disturbed by the fact of this discrepancy in the dates he ascribes to Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya and those yielded by the coins of Śīlāditya. He writes that it "creates no difficulty, for the exact length of the period is, of course, uncertain". About the date 33, considered to be quite certain by Burn, he remarks that one has to be very cautious about the indifferently preserved figures.

Hoernle puts forth the third and the last argument in favour of his theory as the "possible connection of the still unexplained 'aulikara' crest of Yaśodharman with the curious crescent-like object on the head of the king on those coins". It seems to have escaped Hoernle's notice that the crescent appears on both the Maukhari and the Śīlāditya coins. It appears on the Gupta coins also, accompanied by other marks.⁽¹⁾ Apparently both

(1) Allan, C.C.G.D.B.M. p.89 ff. (Kūmaragupta I's coins) p.119 ff. (Skandagupta's coins).

the Maukharis and the Vardhanas retained this symbol, which was one of the minor features of the Gupta type coin they copied. Neither the Maukharis nor the Vardhanas were Candravamśī kings. The Maukharis are specifically stated to have been the descendants of the 100 sons of Aśvapati, who was blessed with such abundant progeny by Manu Vaivasvata.⁽¹⁾ The Maukharis thus were Sūryavamśīs. The Vardhanas belonged to neither of the two traditional royal families.

Hoernle's arguments thus prove too weak to refute the ascription of the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard to Harṣa.

It will be well to end the discussion of this question with a brief description of the coins of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya.⁽²⁾

Pratāpaśīla: The peacock's head is to the left on all nine coins. The crescent on the king's head is about the centre of the top (instead of at the crown as it is usually in the Maukhari coins), and each horn terminates in a knob. We have earlier referred to the reading of the dates and the fact that the vowels are omitted in spelling his name.

(1) The Harāhā inscription, Ep. Ind. XIV p.110 ff.

(2) For a full description see Burn J.R.A.S. 1906, pp.745-7 on which we base this brief account giving the salient points of the coins.

Śīlāditya: The name is usually written "Śrīśaladata", vowels being very rarely given. On a few coins the final akṣara is more clearly "-tya". The crescent on the head has also various forms and positions. The dates on many of the coins are varied and present considerable difficulty, as the symbols differ from the ordinary forms. Burn, however, is positive in his reading of the sign 'sa' as the highest symbol and the symbols 30+1 and 30+3. On the basis of their dates and number, the coins may be classified as follows: (1)

	<u>D a t e</u>	<u>Number of Coins</u>
(1)	1 (?)	1
(2)	6 (?)	10
(3)	10 (?)	10
(4)	20 (?)	6
(5)	25 (?)	1
(6)	30 (?)	4
(7)	31 (?)	3
(8)	31	24
(9)	33	30
(10)	3-	<u>14</u>
		103
(11)	Illegible dates	<u>181</u>
Total	...	<u>284</u>

(1) Most dates are accompanied by a query mark, as Burn finds the readings doubtful.

Six coins of Śīlāditya are preserved at the British Museum of which three were presented to it in 1906 by the Government of the Central Provinces, India. The remaining three were given it by Nelson Wright, one in 1910 and two in 1929. The dates are clearly read as "Sa" (Samvat) "31" on two coins⁽¹⁾ and the tens figure '3' is clear on a third one.⁽²⁾ Thus, the readings on these coins are in accordance with Burn's observations on the coins of Śīlāditya.

We have not been able to find out whether the C.P. Government came in possession of the coins as the result of a local discovery, or whether it was given a share of the large Bhiṭaura hoard, of which a portion was presented by it to the British Museum. The most regrettable practice of distribution without labelling was quite common in these days. However, if the coins presented by the C. P. Government belong to that province, they are a secondary evidence of the extension of Harṣa's empire in that region. The importance of this possibility should^{not} be exaggerated, however, firstly because we are not sure of the findspot of the coins in question and, secondly, because coins are the most easily portable objects.

(1) One from the 1906 group and the other of 1910.

(2) One of the two coins presented in 1929. The dates on the remaining three coins are very doubtful or illegible.

APPENDIX III

The Madhuban Copper-Plate of Harsa, (1)

Dated Samvat 25 (A.D. 631)

- 1.1. O(m) svasti mahānauhastyaśvājayaskandhāvārāt
Pinthikāyāḥ mahārājaśrī Naravardhanastasya puttrastatpādānud-
hyātah śrīVajrinīdevyāmutpannah paramādityabhakto.
- 1.2. mahārājaśrīRājyavardhanastasya puttrastatpādānudhyātah
śrīApsarodevyāmutpannah paramādityabhakto mahārājaśrīmad-
Adityavardhanastasya puttrastatpādānudhyātah śrīMahā-
- 1.3. senaguptādevyāmutpannaścātuh samudrāti kkrāntakīrttiḥ
pratāpānurāgopanātānyarājo varṇnāśramavyavasthāpanapravṛttacakra
ekacakkraratha iva Prajānāmārttiharah
- 1.4. Paramādityabhaktah paramabhattāarakamahārājādhirājaśrīPrab-
hākaravardhanastasya puttrastatpādānudhyātah sitayaśahpratā-
naviccharitasakalabhuvanamaṇḍalahparigrhīta-
- 1.5. Dhanadavarunendraprabhṛtilokapālatejāḥ satpathopārjjitāneka-
pravinabhūmipradānasamprīnitārthihṛdayotisayitapūrvvarājacarito
devyāmamalaYaśomatyām
- 1.6. ŚrīYaśomatyāmutpannah paramasaugataḥ sugata iva parahitaik-
arataḥ paramabhattāarakamahārājādhirājaśrīRājyava(r)dhanah
rājāno yudhi dustavājina iva śrīDevaguptā- dayah
- 1.7. krtvā yena kaśāprahāraṁ vimukhā sarvve samam samyatāḥ
utkhāya dviśato vijitya vasudhām krtvā prajānām priyam
Prāṇānujjhitavānarātibhavane satyānurodhena yah tasyānuja

1.8. statpādānudyātāḥ paramamāheśvaro maheśvara iva
sarvvasatvānukāmpī paramabhāṭṭārakamahārājādhirāja

śrīHarsaḥ Śrāvastībhuktau Kuṇḍadhānīvaiṣayikasomakūṇḍi-
kāgrāme

1.9. samupagatan mahāsāmantamahārājadaussādhāsādhānikapram-
ātārārājasthānīyakumārāmātyoparikaviśayapatibhāṭṭacāṭasevakā-
dīnpratīvāsijanapadanśca samā

1.10. jñāpayatyastu vaḥ samviditamayaṁ Somakūṇḍikāgrāmo
brāhmaṇavāmarathyena kūṭasāsanena bhuktaka iti vicārya
yatastacchasaṇaṁ bhāṅktvā tasmādāksipyā ca svasīmā

1.11. Paryantaḥ sodrangāḥ sarvvarājakulābhāvyapratyāyasametaḥ
sarvvaparihṛtaparihāro viśayādvaddhṛtapindaḥ puttrapauttrānu-
gāḥ candrārkkaksitisamakālīno

1.12. bhūmicchidranyāyena mayā pituḥ paramabhāṭṭārakamahārā-
jādhirāja śrīPrabhākaravaroddhanadevasya mātuh paramabhāṭṭāri-
kāmahādevīrajñīśrīYaśomatīdevyāḥ

1.13. Jyesthabhrātrparamabhāṭṭārakamahārājādhirāja śrī-
Rājyavaroddhanadevapādānaṁ ca puṇyayaśobhivṛddhaye sāvarṇṇisa-
gottracchandogasavrahmacāribhāṭṭavātasvāmi-

1.14. Viśṇuvṛddhasagottravahvṛcasavṛhmacāriśivadevasvāmibh-
yāṁ pratigrahadharmanāgrahāratvena pratipāditāḥ viditvābha-
vaddhiḥ samanumantavyāḥ prati

1.15. vāsijanapadairapyājñāśravanavidheyairbhūtvā yathā-
samucitatulyameyabhāgabhogakara hiranyādipratyāyāḥ
anayorevopaneyāḥ sevopasthānaṁ ca karāṇiyamitya

1.16. Pi ca//

Asmatkulakkramamudāramudāharadbhiranyaśca dānamidamabhyanu-
modanīyaṃ

Lakṣmyāstaditsalilacahcalāyāḥ dānaṃ phalaṃ parayaśaḥ paripāl-
anaṃ ca//

karmmanā

1.17. Manasā vācā karttavyaṃ prāṇinehitaṃ

Harsenaita sāmākhyātaṃ dharmmārjjānamanuttamam Dūtakottra
mahāpramātāramahāsāmantaśrīskandaguptaḥ mahākṣapatalādhikaranādhi-
hi-

1.18 Kṛtasāmanta mahārajeśvaraguptasamādeśācchoṭkīrṇaṃ

gurjjerena saṃvat 20+5(4)mārggaśīrṣa vadi 6.

Translation

(1)

Om Hail! From the great camp of victory (containing)
boats, elephants and horses, from Pinthikā: - the great
king, the illustrious Naravardhana; his son who meditated

(1) as given by Bühler Ep. Ind. I. p. 72 ff.

on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious Ra queen Vajrinī, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Rājyavardhana. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious queen Apsaras, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Ādityavardhana. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he who was) born from the illustrious queen Mahāsenaguptā, he whose fame passed beyond the four oceans, he whose sovereign power was employed in settling (the system of) castes and orders, who like (the deity) with the single-wheeled chariot removed the torments of his subjects, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Prabhākaravardhana. His son who meditated on his (father's) feet (was he) who overspread the circle of the whole world with the canopy of his brilliant fame; who completely appropriated the lustre of the guardians of the world, Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and so forth; who gladdened the hearts of needy men by gifts of many excellent (pieces of) land gained in a righteous manner; who was born from the queen possessing spotless fame, the illustrious Yaśomatī, - a most devout worshipper of Sugata, who like Sugata solely found pleasure in doing good to others, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Rājyavardhana; "By whom, plying his whip in battle, the kings Devagupta and others - who resembled wicked horses - were all

subdued with averted faces; who, after uprooting his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise gave up his life in the mansion of his foe." His younger brother who meditates on his (elder brother's) feet, a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara, who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Harsha, addresses (this) order to the great feudal barons, the great kings, Daussādhasādhanikas, Pramātris, viceroys, princes, ministers, Uparikas, rulers of districts, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, as well as to the provincials of the neighbourhood, assembled in the village of Somakundika which belongs to the district (vishaya) of Kundadhānī in the bhukti of Śrāvastī:

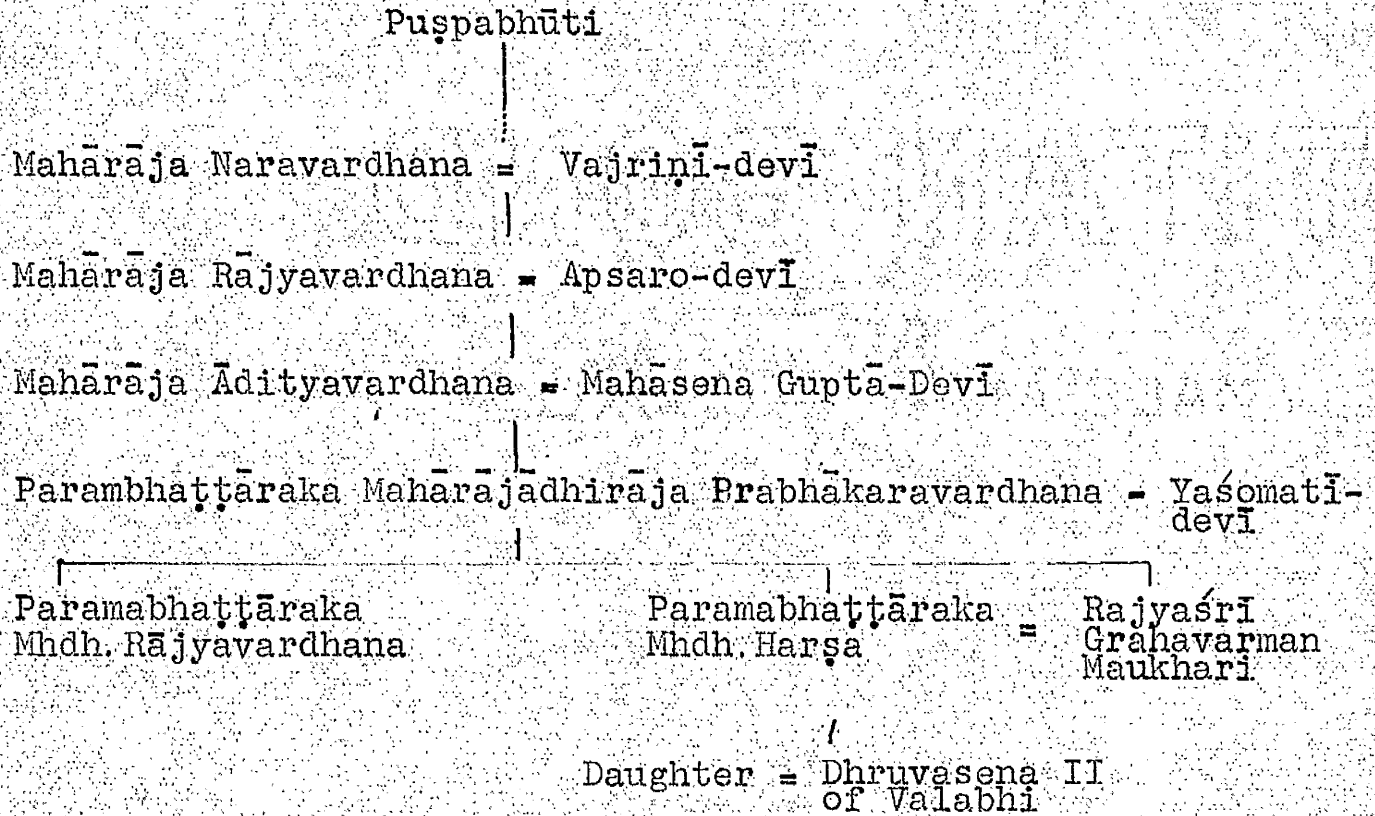
"Be it known to you that, having considered that this village of Somakundika has been enjoyed by the Brahman Vāmarathya on the strength of a forged edict, having therefore broken that edict and having taken (the village) from him, I have granted it, up to its boundaries, together with the udraṅga, together with (the right to) all the income which ought to accrue to the house of the king, endowed with all immunities (with the right of) inheritance by sons and grandsons, (for a period) lasting as long as moon, sun and earth (endure), according to

the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage, for the increase of the merit and fame of (my) father, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Prabhākaravardhana, of (my) mother, the supreme lady and great queen, Her Majesty the illustrious queen Yaśomati, and of the feet of (my) elder brother, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Rājyavardhana, - to Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmin, a member of the Sāvarni gotra, and a fellow-student of the Chhandogas (a Sāmavedi) and to Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmin, a member of the Vishnuvridha gotra and a fellow-student of the Bahvrīchas (a Rigvedi), as a duly accepted āgrahāra. Knowing this you should agree (to it) and the provincials of the neighbourhood being obedient to (my) command should bring to these two (donees) alone the due income, which is to be given according to weight and according to measure, (viz) the share (of the crops), the (objects of) enjoyment, the taxes, the gold and so forth, and they should do them service."

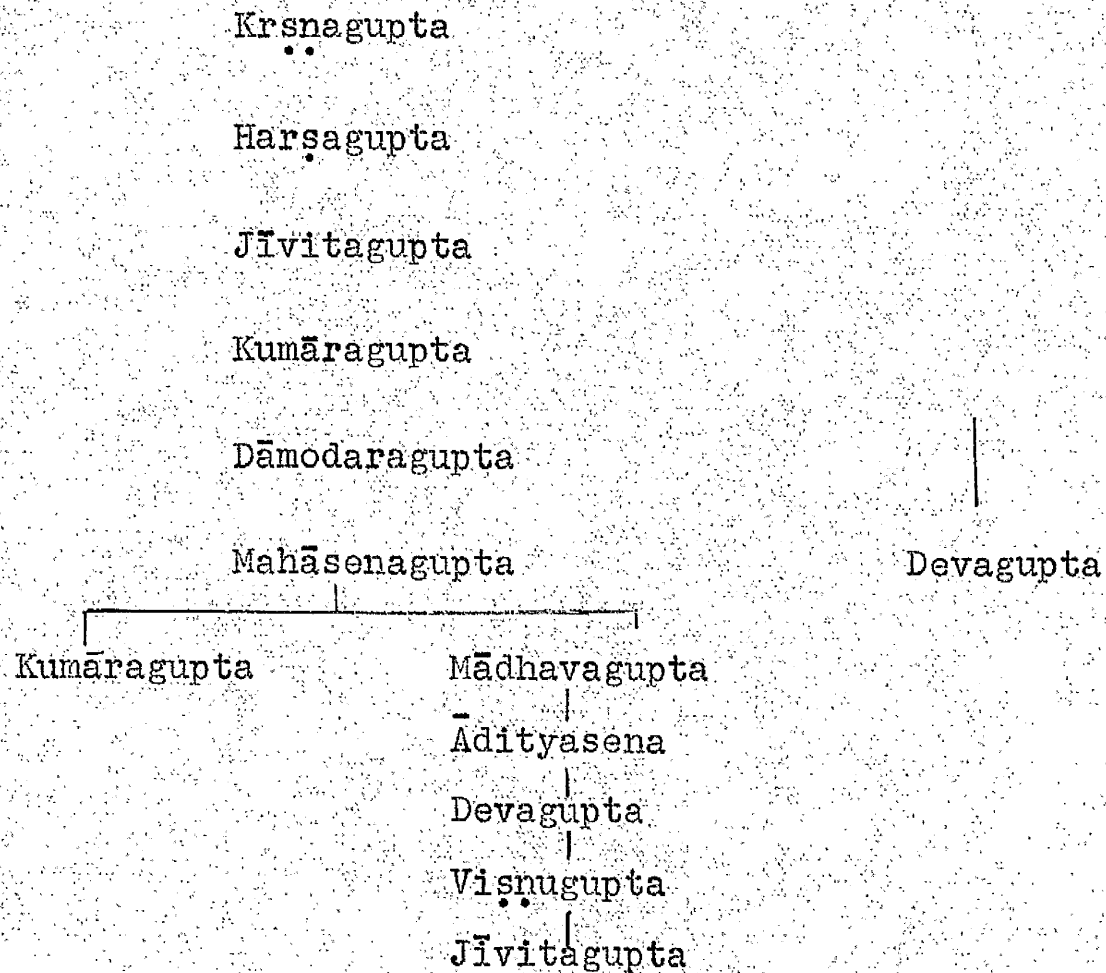
Moreover, "By those who profess (to belong to) the noble line of our race and by others this gift ought to be agreed to. Gifts and the protection of the fame of others (are) the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water-bubble." "With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. Harsha has declared that an unsurpassable (mode of) acquiring spiritual merit."

The messenger (charged with the order) concerning this (grant is) the great feudal baron, the great king S_kandagupta; and (the edict) has been incised by Gurjara at the command of the great chief of the office of records, the feudal baron, the great king Īśvaragupta, /Śrīharsha- / Samvat 25 Mārgasīrsha, dark half, the sixth (lunar day).

Genealogical Table of the Puṣpabhūti



Genealogical table of the Later Guptas



Genealogical Table of the Maukharis of Kanauj

Mahārāja Harivarman

" Ādityavarman

" Īśvaravarman

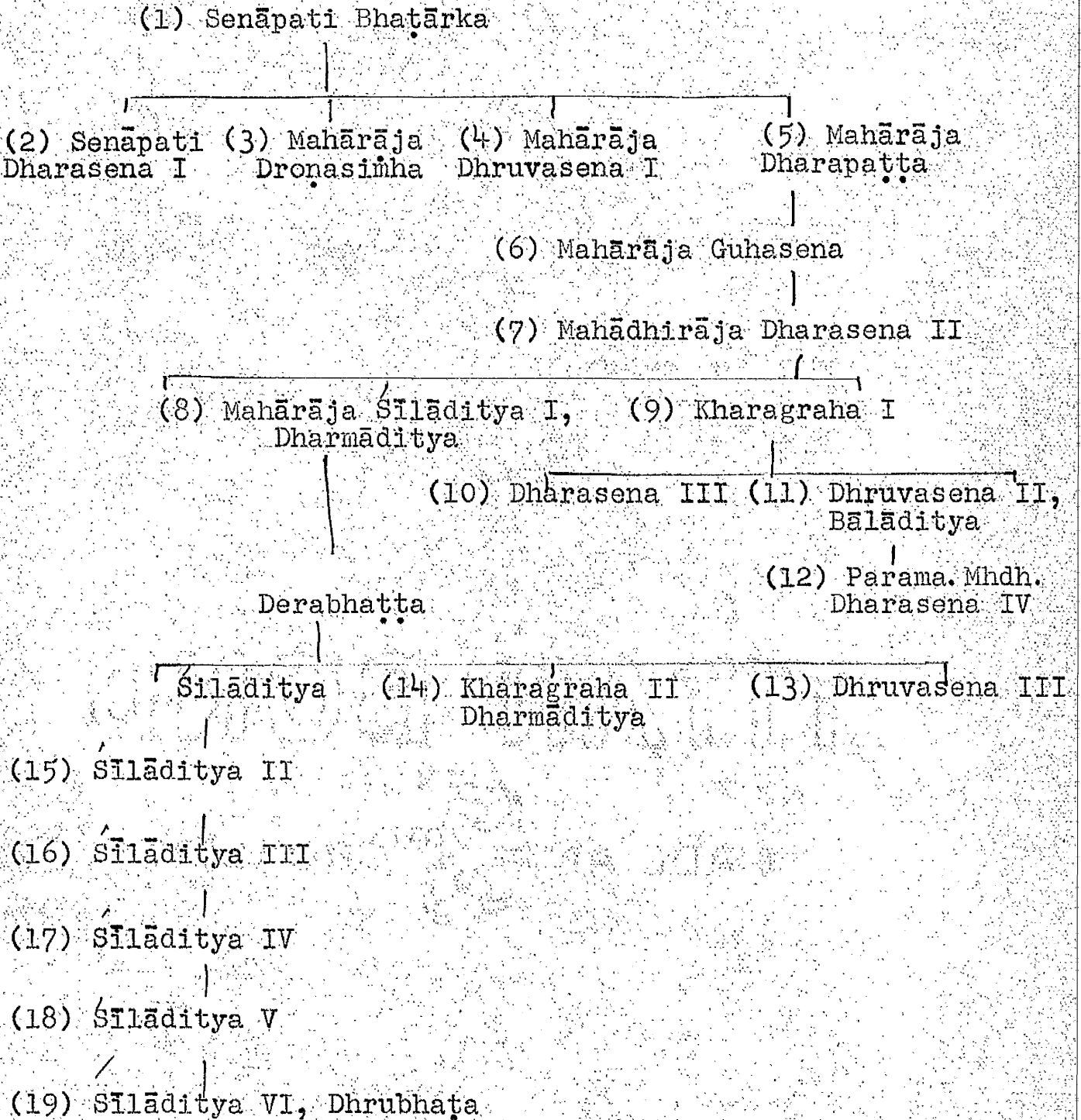
Mhdh. Īśānavarman

" Śarvavarman Śūryavarman

" Avantivarman

Grahavarman Suva...
= Rājyaśrī

Genealogical Table of the Maitrakas of Valabhi



Genealogical table of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi

Jayasimha I

Ranarāga

Pulakeśin I A.D. 541

Kirttivarman
A.D. 566 - 597Maṅgaleśa
A.D. 597-608Pulakeśin II
A.D. 609- c. 642Kubja
Viṣṇuvardhana

Buddha Varāśa

[Pallava Interregnum]
c. A.D. 642-654

Ādityavarman

Candrāditya

Vikramāditya I
A.D. 655-678Dharāśraya
JayasimhavarmanVinayāditya
A.D. 678-696Vijayāditya
A.D. 696-733/4Vikramāditya II
A.D. 734-746Kirtivarman II
A.D. 746-757

Śrayāśraya Śilāditya

Jayāśraya
Mangalarāsa-
rājaAvanijanaśraya
Pulakeśirāja

Genealogical table of the Palāvas of Kāñcī

Siṃhavarman	...	C.A.D. 550-575
Siṃhaviṣṇu	...	" 575-600
Mahendravarman I	"	600-630
Narasimhavarman I	"	630-668
Mahendravarman II	"	668-670
Paramēśvaravarman I	"	670-695
Narasimhavarman II	"	695-722
Paramēśvaravarman II	"	722-730
Nandīvarman II Pallava-		
malla	"	730-796

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- 2) Ta Tz'u-ên Ssü San-tsang Fa-shih Chuan or the Life of the Master of the Law, Tripitaka of the Great Monastery of Motherly Love. Chüans 1-5 by Hui-li composed between the end of 648 and the summer of 649. Takakusu Vol. 50.
- 3) Ku-chinfo-~~tao~~-Lun-hêng composed by a Buddhist monk. The preface is dated A.D. 661. Chüan-C, Edict ordering Hsüan-tsang to translate Lao-Tzu into Sanskrit. Takakusu, Vol. 52
- 4) Ta T'ang Ku San-tsang Hsüan-tsang Fa-shih Hsing-chuang or the Report on the career of the late Master of the Law, Tripitaka Hsüan-tsang of the Great T'ang by Ming-hsiang, Date: c. 664. Takakusu 50. 214.
- 5) Hsü Kao Sêng Chuan or the continuation of the lives of Eminent Monks by Tao-hsüan. Date A.D. 645 to 667. Additions made later by others. Takakusu 50, 446 and 458b.
- 6) Shih-chia-Fang-chih or the Geography of the land of the Buddha by Tao-hsüan. Takakusu 51.
- 7) Fa-yüan-chu-lin by Tao Shih, completed 668. Chüan 29 p. 98b in the P'ien Ch'ieh Ching She edition of the Tripitaka.

The Fa-yüan-chu-lin preserves several fragments of Wang Hsüan t'sê's memoirs, a work otherwise lost to us. Hsüan t'sê's memoirs have been variously referred to as Chung-T'ien-Chu-hsing chi (an account of the travels of Wang Hsüan t'se). Si-kuo-hsing-chuan (a description of the journey to the kingdoms of the west), Wang Hsüan-t'sê-hsing-chuan (an account of the travels of Wang Hsüan t'sê and Si-Yü-hsing-chuan (description of the journey to the Western countries).

8) T'ung Tien by Tu Yu composed in A.D.801. Chapter 193, p.1040c. Wan-yu-wen-ku, Shih T'ung edition.

9) Chiu T'ang Shu, or the Old T'ang History, attributed to Liu Hsü completed in A.D.945 Chüans: (a) 3 (section: Basic Annals T'ai Tsung) (b) 196A, Section: Tufan (Tibet) (c) 198, Section T'ien Chu (India) and (d) ^{191.} SSU-pu-pei-yao edition.

The early part of the Old T'ang history is based on the National history (Liu Fang et alia 759) which contains material until A.D.756 and has probably been utilised by other historians of the period as well. The National history in its turn is based on an early eighth century source, the Wu-tê Chêng-kuan Liang-chiao-kuo-shih. This latter work derives information from a veritable record the Shih Lu, which put together the facts as preserved in the court diary, the Ch'i-chü-chu.

10) T'ang Hui Yao or the Collected essential acts of the T'ang by Wang P'iu. Date: 961. Chüan 100, section T'ien Chu (India) Peking 1955.

The Old T'ang history and this work seem to have a common source.

11) T'ai Ping Yü Lan compiled by Imperial order in the late tenth century. Chapter 792, Section 7, pp. 9b-10b. Ssu pu ts'ung kan series 3.

12) T'ai P'ing Huan-yü Chi. An official compilation of the late tenth century A.D. Chapter 183, Section T'ien-chü.

13) Ts'ê Fu Yüan Kuei by Wang Ch'in-jo and Yang I completed between A.D. 1005 - 1013. Chüans 970 (year 15 of Chêng-kuan), 973 (Year 22 of Chêng-kuan), 995 (Year 22 of Chêng-kuan).

[1754 edition.]

14) Hsin T'ang Shu or the New T'ang History by Ou-Yang Hsiu, Sung Ch'i and others. Date: 1060. Chüans 216 A Tufan (Tibet); 221A T'ien Chu (India). K'ai Ming Erh-shih Wu-shih edition.

15) Tzu Chih T'ung Chien or the comprehensive mirror to assist in Government by Ssu-ma-kuang. Date 1085. Chüan 199, Section T'ien Chu (India). Ssu Pu Pei Yao edition. This seems to be the most carefully compiled work.

16) Wen Hsien T'ung Kao or the Comprehensive opinions on literature by Ma Tuan-lin. Work presented to the throne in

1318. Chüan 338, section T'ien Chu (India). Wan-yu Wên ku Shih T'ung edition.

The work of Ma Tuan-lin, which reproduces almost word for word the account given in the New T'ang History, is the least important and the latest in point of time, but unfortunately, because of its translations into European languages, has been most quoted for a reconstruction of the history of the period immediately before and after Harsa's death.

Some useful material may possibly be found in Tao Hsüan's Kuang-Hung-Ming-chi (Takakusu 52), a voluminous work on Buddhism, but we have not been able to consult it exhaustively. Tao-Hsüan's life has been preserved in Tsan-Ming's Kao-seng-chuan (Takakusu, 50) and may also yield some useful information on our subject.

A useful secondary source may be an essay on Wang Hsüan T'se by Fêng Chêng-Chün in the Journal of the Lin-Nan University, possibly Vol. 2, No. 4, 1932, but unfortunately we could not get access to it.

Translations.

- 1) Ma Tuan-lin's work translated by Hervey de St. Denys as *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers de la Chine*. 2 Vols. Paris, London, 1876.

- 2) Ma Tuan-lin Book 338, Fol.14. An anonymous translation in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australia. New Series Vol.20. May-Aug. 1836 pp.213-222, 313-316; Reproduced in the J.A.S.B. Vol.VI Part I (1837) pp.61-75 (both in English).
- 3) Ma Tuan-lin Book 335, Fol.14. by A.Re'musat in Nov. Mém. Asiat. t.i. p.193.
- 4) Ma Tuan-lin Book 338, Fol.14, by S. Julien in Jour. Asiatique IV me Sér. tome X (1847) pp.81-121.
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- 6) The Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi, "Considérations Générales" drawn from by Pauthier in the same work (48 pages).
- 7) Ma Tuan-lin Bk 338, Fol.14, Julien's article in French (Jour. Asiat. 1847, pp.81-121) translated into English by Burgess in I.A. Vol. IX, 1880.
- 8) Chavannes, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1896.
- 9) Bushell "Early History of Tibet", J.R.A.S. n.s.XII p.528 ff.
- 10) Sylvain Lévi, Les Missions de Wang Hsien-t'se dans l'Inde. Jour. Asiat. IX Sér. Tome XV (1900) p.297 ff., p.401 ff based on certain passages of the Old and the New T'ang histories and the Fa-Yuan-chu-lin. This article is by far the most useful among secondary sources.

Arthur Waley, The Real Tripitaka, and other pieces
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For ascertaining dates of certain original works
the handy bibliography at the end of E. G. Pulleyblank's
book, The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan (London,
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The Indian Sinologist, P. C. Bagchi has produced
some general works on relations between India and China
in ancient times, e.g. Indian and China (2nd edition, Bombay
1950) and the Greater India Society Bulletin No. 2., but
does not appear to have made translations of passages from
the original works cited above or a specialised study based
on them. The short article by him in the Sino-Indiaⁿ Studies
(I, p.65 ff) has been noted.
